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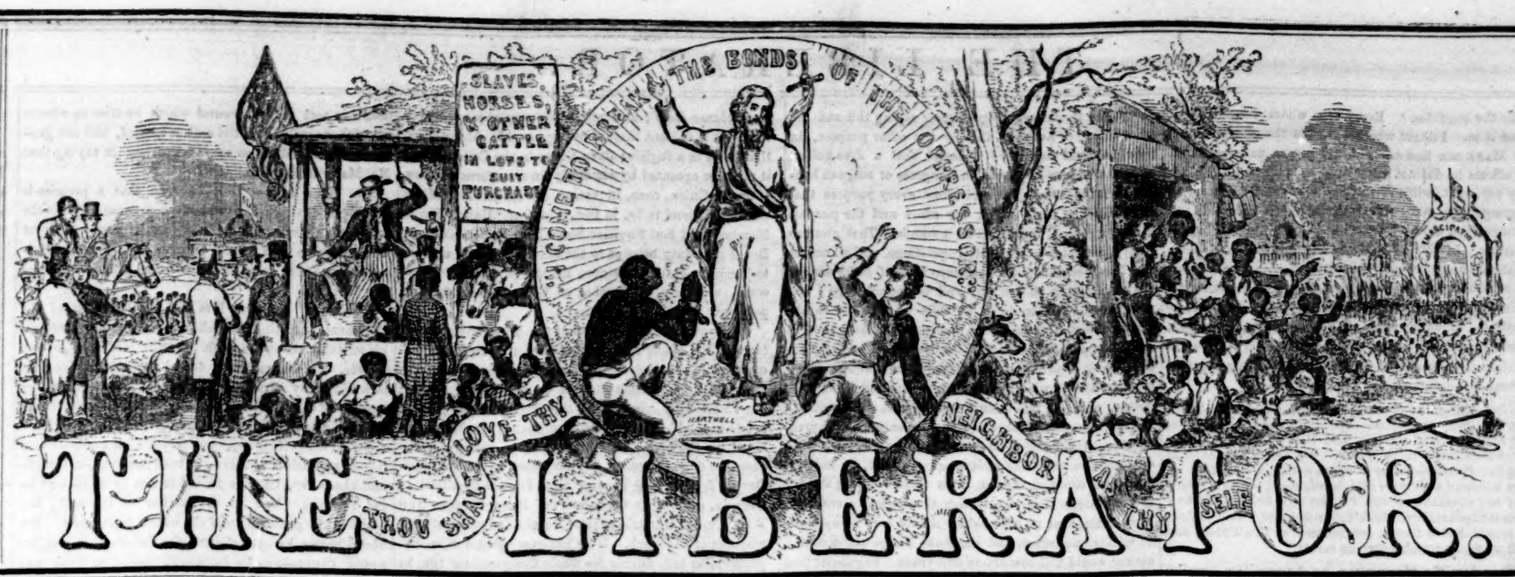
☞ In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of every question are impartially allowed a hearing.


SLAVES, HORSES, & OTHER CATTLE IN LOTS TO SUIT PURCHASERS
COME TO BREAK THE BONDS OF THE OPPRESSOR
THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THY SELF

THE LIBERATOR.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

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No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

☞ 'YES! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions TO SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons . . . . . in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed! . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—*John Quincy Adams.*

SELECTIONS.

From the Madison County (N. Y.) Journal.

GRAHAM'S MAGAZINE.

Mr. George R. Graham, the owner, publisher, and editor of Graham's Magazine, in order, as he says, to make his 'position particularly clear,' and 'by a slip'—to direct attention' thereto, 'to put one of the nineteen hundred editors with whom he exchanges. It will not be our fault if Mr. Graham's subscribers do not 'clearly' understand what are the principles, and what is the style, of the periodical which bears his name.

Mr. Graham, despising the slow-coach road to fame, has taken the air-line route. He has hastened to do the dirtiest work which slavery required of its toadies. In the short space of time, he has gained the front rank of that class of writers, which only renegade Yankees, Northern doughfaces, and fourth-o' July canting womanizers, can ever hope to reach. His part is a mean—unapproachably mean—transcendantly despicable. It is no other than *blackguarding* Mrs. Beecher Stowe, and reviling the religious sentiments of the opponents of Slavery. How well he has his work, and through what slimy ways he wades after Southern dollars, let his own words testify.

'Mrs. Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin is a *bad book*. It is badly constructed, badly timed, and *made up* for a bad purpose. The work has been successful popularity—but there is such a thing as *blood-stained wealth gained for nefarious doings!* The book is a mere distortion of facts—a stupendous lie—and therefore we cannot admit its merits, although its zeal *elicits the zeal of admirers*. Uncle Tom has served a purpose—it has made excitement and money—and we must be excused from falling down and worshipping *so false and mean a thing*. We feel nothing but unutterable contempt and scorn for the whole class of *liberty people*. We ask no terms with their *impudent writers* or their speculating owners, for their vocation is to *make money*.'—The female agitators have abandoned Bloomers altogether, and are just now bestride a new hobby with intense love of black folks, *in fashionable* dress. A plague of all black faces! We *hate this system*, and hope it may be done away with.'

Having that his 'position' is not yet 'clear' enough for his Southern masters, he continues, using the passage where the two savage negroes are converted, in answer to the prayer of Uncle Tom, he indulges in these gross remarks:—

'Then there cries, in a strong agony of love: 'Oh Lord, give me these two more souls, I pray!' and he gets them forthwith. 'That prayer was answered,' Mrs. Stowe assures us. What, in the name of common sense, can be said of this astounding business! Why, that Mrs. Stowe is a woman of strong humane feelings, which run away with her, clean, and whisk her from the desk of the novelist to *the pulpit of the revivalist*. It is *impious* to suppose that Heaven will accept such a pair of souls as Sambo and Quimbo. We do not agree with the author, that a love of hymn chorusings and holdings forth are high moral characteristics. That suddenness of conversion is a very unhealthy and unnatural thing: it cannot be a true thing.'

But enough of these disgusting extracts. Some ordinary people may imagine that a publisher who thus flings his brazen defiance into the faces of the virtuous and freedom-loving men and women of the North, would lose his Northern patronage; we do not. It is a mistake to suppose that Northern flesh can rise. Our noses have been so long on the Southern grindstone, that they would feel unendurable anywhere else. Graham has not misjudged the temper of our people. His speculation is a good one, and will pay. A little bluster may be made, for the time, by a few 'noisy fanatics,' but the world will go on as it has. Abject newsboys will be arrested for selling Uncle Tom's novels in a dirty alley; good men will thunder against George Sand and Eugene Sue; poor Socialism will be excommunicated and anathematized to the lowest deep; but Graham's Magazine will be bought. Respectable stationers will vend it, it will be found in all our drawing rooms; mothers will present it to their daughters; Graham will make a fortune, and the 'Union' will be again 'saved.'

From Mrs. Swisshelm's Saturday Visiter.

ANOTHER ERA OF MARTYRDOM,

AND ITS FIRST MARTYR.

Our Southern chivalry have long claimed and exercised the right to horse-whip their cooks, chambermaids, seamstresses, nursemaids, and even the old mammies who supply to them, in infancy, the place of mother. This sacred right they have legislated for, fought for, and maintained, until now it is threatened by the genius of a woman; and Graham, the gallant Graham, comes to the rescue, sanctified and prepared for a martyr's crown and glory, glorying in the persecutions he is called to endure in this noble cause. He has girded on his armor, and wrought himself up to a sublime height of heroic endurance, which may well bid defiance to death and destruction. Fred. Douglass and Mrs. Swisshelm, with all the powers of light and darkness, as the case may be.

* * * *

The fact of the business is, Martyr Graham, you have mistaken the case. So far as we are concerned, we did not intend to persecute you for 'right-eousness' sake,' but for your want of truth. It is not your boldness but your cowardice with which we find fault. It is not the *liberty* of the press, but the licentiousness, to which we object. You remind us somewhat of Paddy, who thought he was in a free country, when he landed in New York, and forthwith commenced breaking windows. Editors who incline to libel an opponent whom they cannot meet in fair argument, are apt to complain of a want of freedom of the press. You insult and wantonly libel Mrs. Stowe, and the entire class of anti-slavery women in this country. In pretence of a literary review, you swagger and bluster like a bully—sink the gentleman in the ruffian; and when we say to our readers you are no longer fit for a parlor companion, you rave, and swagger, and revel about persecution, proscription and conscience-keepers. About the last, you need give yourself no trouble, until you get a conscience to keep; and for the two former, we shall confine our advice to saying, that you should be excluded from decent society until you learn better manners and get over your present phrensy.

☞ In another number of her paper, after quoting several foul and venomous pro-slavery passages from Graham's *Magazine*, Mrs. Swisshelm's cuttingly says—

'Here are six and a half mortal pages of just such stuff, in which he mixes up the old worn-out sophistries used to defend Slavery, second-hand wit and slang, with new-born impertinence, and endless during of mortification to find that the woes of the slave have reached the public ear and heart, despite the sturdy determination of our literary Solons who had banded together to stifle his cry of agony.

No wonder poor Graham is desperate. He had fancied himself and his magazine such important barometers of popular feeling—such adroit leaders of literary taste, and had so set his bewitching face against any mention of the negro's wrongs in polite circles; and then to find that upper-tendom and lower-milliondom, with all intermediate-doms, were weeping over the pages of Uncle Tom, while Graham, the immaculate Graham, could scarce find readers enough to keep him in countenance! Is it any wonder he raves? Most likely, he feels desperate, and having failed to arouse the general patriotism of Americans to support his magazine, he hopes now to gain a support from the Southerners, by pandering to their narrowest prejudices, and doing their dirty work. We trust the people of the North will leave him to the arms of the South, where he has so precipitately cast himself; and wishing him all the comfort he can find in his dirty little attack upon a lady whose name is a crown of glory to our common country, let him stand as another of the thousands of rotten props, who vainly essay to support the system of chattel slavery, and are inevitably doomed to go down with the rubbish.

GRAHAM'S MAGAZINE AND SLAVERY.—The bid and bait for southern patronage is taking. The pious 'Nashville and Louisville Christian Advocate' swallows the whole 'hook and line' of four columns, and re-produces it. And then looks up from the licked platter and asks for 'more.' 'If everybody would only do just so,' it seems to say, 'what good times we should have down here!' Is that all? Then you'll be a long time looking for the good time coming. Few are found equal to Graham's capacity for ridiculing 'Uncle Tom Foolery,' as he designates anti-slavery sympathy. None will venture to follow his example.—*Syracuse Wesleyan.*

☞ The following excellent Address was adopted at a public meeting of the Dublin Anti-Slavery Society, held on the 14th ult.,—the Lord Mayor in the Chair,—the proceedings of which were published in our last number. May it be extensively copied!

ADDRESS

To the People of the United States on the subject of Slavery, from the citizens of Dublin assembled in public meeting in the Rotunda, February 14th, 1853, the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor in the chair.

In coming before you on this occasion, we gratefully call to mind your munificence in the time of our necessity, in the protracted period of an awful and remarkable famine, when supplies of food, clothing and money from the people of the United States were poured in upon us without stint or measure. Nor do we forget that, in that day of calamity, your land became the home of thousands of our countrymen and countrywomen, who found on your shores that asylum which no other realm could offer. The tide of emigration still continues, so that there are very few Irish families who have not some relatives in America, and to whom the interests of your land are not, to some extent, their own.

Our sympathies and interests being, therefore, strongly with you, we have special claim to plead with you as friend with friend, on the painful subject of slavery, that grievous blot on your fair fame; which imbrutes the slave, and disgraces the master; which cripples your literature; corrupts your politics; poisons the fountains of legal justice; and even silences many of your professedly Christian ministers, so that they dare not speak the *whole* message of God—nay, in many instances, their own hands are polluted with the accursed thing.

We mourn especially for the slave in his wrongs and degradation: but not for him alone. Slavery spreads its poisonous influence over the master, and even over those States of your great Republic which are nominally free. It has benumbed the consciences and perverted the intellects of some of your greatest men, who would otherwise have scorned the idea of strengthening the bands of the Union by riveting the fetters of your slaves; and would have sought to arouse their country to get rid of an institution hostile to her permanent stability and security. Let us call to your recollection the declared conviction of one of the early and venerated Presidents of the Union, that slavery would be the rock on which the Republic might ultimately split.

There are many among you who see these things, who deplore slavery, and labor for its overthrow. These have our warmest sympathies; we believe they will yet be recognised as your truest patriots. Both sacred and profane history teach us that adherence to principle is the highest expediency for nations, as well as for individuals.

We remonstrate with you in the spirit of true friendship, not as being ourselves blameless. It is comparatively but a few years since slavery was abolished in our own West Indian colonies, and its influence is still felt in obstructing the prosperity of those fine islands. We acknowledge and deeply deplore the existence of many social evils in our own land, producing bitter fruits. We shall welcome your friendly exhortations in return, and rejoice to have these evils exposed to the view of those who can suggest or apply the remedies. Thus let us mutually provoke one another to love and to good works, assured that truth will gain by investigation.

We cannot and we need not suggest details for your guidance in this important matter. We believe that immediate emancipation is the right of the slave and the duty of the master; and that when America has resolved to cast aside the shackles, to set her bondmen free, and to elevate all her citizens to the dignity of manhood, she will find the means of executing her resolve. Possessed of such immense natural resources, and with a disposition so generous towards the poor of other lands, she can surely afford to be just towards her own. It is our warmest wish for America, that her soil may cease to be trodden by tyrant or by slave, by man-hunter or by panting fugitive; that she may dare to practise that righteousness which exalteth a nation, and may thus occupy a nobler position than she has yet taken among the nations of the earth.

Finally, we beseech you, by the just and merciful attributes of Him 'who hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth,' to rise and cast off this sin of sins from your various churches, and from your noble and beloved land. And may the Almighty Being, who upholds all things by the word of His power, enable your country and our own to pursue together a race of Christian honor, to the welfare of the whole human family, and to the glory of Him who is God over all, blessed for ever!

ROBERT H. KINAHAM,
Lord Mayor of the City of Dublin.

From the American Baptist.

LETTER FROM ENGLAND.

BRISTOL, Jan. 7, 1853.

As the friends of reform are glad that the reactionary Derby administration is overthrown, and a better one chosen, so are English abolitionists rejoicing over the change of the New Broad Street administration, and that a better one has succeeded in its room. It is the belief of numbers in England, that the blood and fetters of many among the millions enslaved will lie at the door of John Scoble; but he has left for Canada, and also his friend, Josiah Henson, concerning whom Mr. S. said, 'He is one of the only two colored men who have visited England, to whom I have given my confidence.'

And now, what may we expect will be accomplished in the slave's behalf by the new Secretary, Mr. L. A. Chamerovzow? Will he aim to unite or scatter the anti-slavery forces in England?—Will he endeavor to give to them that healthy and spirited tone which they possessed in the days of Thomas Clarkson, or repress their activity! Will he turn attention to *American* slavery, or turn off attention from it? Finally, will he aim to bring the mighty moral power of the British churches to destroy slavery—or will he war against anti-slavery advocates!

The coming year will unfold answers to these inquiries. Some of them are already answered.—The formal, 'dry-as-dust,' chilling articles of the *Reporter* are replaced by warm and animating ones. The price, omitting the stamp, has fallen from six-pence to three pence. The form is more popular, the spirit more earnest, and but for one thing that it lacks, we should pronounce it soundly converted to the anti-slavery faith. The readers of the *Baptist* will inquire what that one thing is. Your ear, if you please. The American churches are the bulwarks of American slavery. We are not able to say that the *A. S. Reporter* will apply itself to the formidable task of purifying those churches. We cannot say that, in anticipation of the religious meetings in May, it will duly inform the religious public of England of, the state of the religious bodies in America in regard to slavery, and endeavor to prevent those ministers, who by their sentiments or their position sanction slavery, from addressing the religious annual gatherings. It has made a most excellent beginning. Whether it may be swerved from the path of duty by conventional courtesies, the future will unfold. One thing is certain—the fearless *Anti-Slavery Advocate* will keep the even tenor of its way,—whether accompanied by the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, or left to battle singly against the foe, it will still proclaim, 'no union with slaveholders.'

As an evidence that the power of the anti-slavery reform is increasing, I may refer to a large and deeply interesting meeting held in this city on Wednesday last, in the Lecture Room of the Scientific Institute. The city was divided into districts, and a committee to each district was appointed to obtain signatures.

In the *Evening Mail*, some able articles have appeared, which time will not allow me to notice. Mr. W. Wells Brown has recently given three able anti-slavery lectures in this city, illustrated by dissolving views. I had the pleasure of meeting him, and numerous other friends of the slave, at an anti-slavery soiree at Mr. J. B. Estlin's. The meeting was a very pleasant one, and the friends of the slave were cheered and strengthened by the soiree.

Yours for the slave,
EDWARD MATHEWS.

From the London Daily News—Feb. 2.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY ADVOCATE.

We have before us the fifth number of this little monthly publication, which was set up to supply the deficiencies of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. There has been nothing like it in this country before—nothing to compare with it in accuracy of knowledge of the political and social condition of the United States. It is really refreshing to read these few monthly pages, after seeing how far wrong English writers and speakers can get, for want of knowledge of the broadest facts of the American constitution and usages. As might be expected, it meets with respect and appreciation on the other side of the Atlantic, where most of our criticisms, our Stafford-house memorials, and the like, are received with a smile or a sneer. At home it seems to have regenerated the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, as its first achievement; and that is no slight benefit; for really there have been times when readers were tempted to ask whether the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* had not been bought by the West India planters. The spirit of the *Anti-Slavery Advocate* is excellent—cheerful, frank, candid—ready to 'call a spade a spade,' but neither uncivil nor fanatical, nor in any way partial or passionate. This union of cheerful moderation of spirit with close accuracy of knowledge and absolute rectitude of principle is very pleasant, and likely to be highly useful to the anti-slavery cause, where passion has entered in, but too naturally, on both sides.

The most interesting article, perhaps, in the present number is one on the American Methodist Church, the history of which in regard to its action about slavery is as curious a story as could well be presented. It must be read entire, however, so we do not quote from it.

In an article on that which is a vexed question here, though quite a settled one in the United States, (except when there is a traveller to be mystified,) the choice between immediate and gradual emancipation—there occurs this anedote:

'We were in company with Ellen Craft, not long after she and her husband sought an asylum in England, when a gentleman at the table asked her if the slaves generally were intelligent enough to take care of themselves if they were emancipated. She replied, 'At present, they take care of themselves and their masters too; if they were free, I think they would be able to take care of themselves.' But this is not the question: no person conversant with the subject entertains an honest doubt as to any difficulty on this score. The real difficulty lies in the reluctance of the slaveholder to let go his grasp upon the fettered bondman.'

If any readers of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' wish to go forward in the cause, or in the mere knowledge of it, the best guide will be this little publication, which will give them the soundest information in the most good-humored style,—the spirit being not a whit the less earnest for all the good humor.

We advise all who feel an interest in the cause of the Abolition of Slavery, to consult the pages of the *Anti-Slavery Advocate*,—without exception the ablest, least partial, and most practical of any Abolitionist periodical yet attempted in this country.—*London Weekly Chronicle—Feb. 5.*

☞ One hundred slaves, belonging to the estate of J. C. Singleton, S. C. were sold at Columbia on the 14th ult. The *Banner* says that boys, from fifteen to twenty-five years old, brought $900 to $1000—a few over $1000. Young women sold for $750 to $850. The average was $530.

From the Rhode Island Freeman.

THE INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

The anxiously looked for document, the President's Inaugural, has made its appearance.

This most remarkable production of the age may be very properly divided into three parts.

First, an apology for having been elected President, and a regret that some more deserving person had not been elected in his place. To this part of the Address we have only to say, that we have no doubt a large number of his fellow-citizens entirely agree with him.

In the second part of the document, he clearly indicates that he will most cordially approve of the annexation of Cuba, the remainder of Mexico, all of Central and South America, provided always that Canada is to remain untouched, as also all of the British Provinces. He also endorses the Monroe doctrine to the fullest extent.

The third part of this document, strange as it may seem, is devoted entirely to the agitation of that subject, which was forever put to rest, on the day that the writer of it received his nomination. Surely, we may be allowed to agitate mildly, when we find so strong authority from high places. The Union must be preserved, and this cannot be done, except by making twenty millions of free people serfs and tyrants, to enable three hundred thousand slaveholders to maintain and enforce a system of tyranny unparalleled in the annals of either savage or civilized life.

The Compromise Measures are endorsed in strong and peculiar language. In the opinion of this wise man, the three hundred thousand slaveowners of the South have a right, a clear, constitutional right, to command every free man in the land to do their bidding, catch and return to them their property in the form of human beings, while they sit lolling at their ease, and laughing at the servility of those second-class chattels of theirs, who are ready to do that nefariously wicked, mean and dirty work, which they scorn to do themselves. Not only so, but this duty, which he says freedom owes to slavery, is to be done unhesitatingly.

There is to be no delay. No procrastination. No hesitancy to ascertain whether we are in the path of duty. No doubts in relation to the moral right. This is the higher law, and obey you ought, and must, unhesitatingly. The merchant must leave his merchandise; the manufacturer his counting-room; the farmer his plough; the mechanic his workshop; the banker his money untold; the professional man his study; the man of God the sacred altar. All, all, must rush, pell-mell, and obey this higher law without hesitation; catch the flying and friendless fugitive, remanacle his already excoriated limbs, plunge another dagger into his now bleeding heart, and remand him to that heartless tyrant who claims to hold property in that being, whom God tells us he has made in his own image.

But this is not all! This work of tyrants—this labor of love, which Mr. Pierce tells us we are bound by the Constitution to perform 'unhesitatingly'—this work of re-converting human beings, God's free men, into slaves, must be done 'cheerfully.' 'Not with a reluctance, encouraged by whatever opinions as to their propriety, in a different state of society, but cheerfully,' &c.

Yes, fellow-citizens! When you are in hot haste after the panting fugitive, with the scourge of the slaveholder at your back, in the form of one thousand dollars' fine and six months' imprisonment, remember you are to do it with a jovial heart, a smiling countenance, in an affable and benignant temper of mind, asking and imploring the blessing of God upon your work! In a word, you are to do this accursed work, upon which every decent man looks with detestation and horror, 'cheerfully.'

Ask the fond and doating father to witness and assist, unhesitatingly and cheerfully, in the murder of a much-loved son. Ask the kind and affectionate mother to be the unhesitating and cheerful looker-on and assistant, and behold her only daughter ravished before her eyes. Let General Pierce, himself, cheerfully behold the wife of his bosom defiled before his eyes, and let him, under pains and penalties, be an accomplice in the nefarious transaction, and perhaps he may have something of a realizing sense of what he asks of others. If the lessons taught us by revolutionary authority, that liberty is dearer than life, be true; if Patrick Henry meant anything when he said, 'Give me liberty or give me death'; if these teachings are to be believed and cherished; then are the sentiments of the Inaugural forever to be loathed and detested. No instrument so entirely regardless of freedom would have been put forth by any Southern man. It is (as Mr. Mann would say) more Calhoun than Calhoun himself.

And now, fellow-citizens, we appeal to you! Are you ready to carry on this work of negro catching cheerfully and unhesitatingly? If so, you can endorse that document. If not, then you must repudiate it.

We call upon every lover of liberty, be he of what political party he may, to agitate, agitate the doctrines of the Inaugural, until they become what they should be, accursed by every decent man.

A LOVER OF LIBERTY.

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

We lay before our readers to-day the Inaugural Address of President Pierce. It is a document, sometimes complicated and diffuse in style, and often un-American and servile in sentiment. The show of patriotism and the display of words with which it commences are similar to Mr. Franklin Pierce's former efforts in that line—a great deal of sound, which only happens, however, to be a sound. What is said of the domestic and foreign policy of the country, and the distribution of offices, is well enough said, but what it points to, or what object the new Administration has in view in relation to those matters, we confess ourselves unable to see. The clap-trap about the Union, and the ringing of changes upon the stars of the national banner, are useless, but characteristic. And the declarations about 'the Compromise measures' are simply diabolical. He can only see that 'involuntary servitude'—slavery is rather too harsh a word—'is recognised by the Constitution.' Of course, freedom is not. Oh, no! not a word about freedom does Mr. Pierce dare to breathe in the presence of the oligarchy that rules the country. Bold enough to promise an execution of the laws for the support of slavery, he will not pledge himself to a single line of policy that is really democratic, or that has for its object the perpetuation and strengthening of free institutions.—We trust the anti-slavery Democrats will see how fairly the Administration, which they helped into power, is pledged to obey, to the fullest extent, the requirements of the slave-power. The President hopes the question is at rest forever. We can assure him that he is mistaken. It never will be at rest, till the country returns to the faith of its Fathers, for whom he professes so hypocritical a regard.—*Independent (N. H.) Democrat.*

A SLAVE AUCTION IN VIRGINIA.

A young New Yorker, now on his first Southern tour, and not yet cottonized by the new influences surrounding him, has written to one of the publishers of the New York *Tribune* an account of a slave auction he attended in Richmond. His letter has been published in that paper, from which we copy it, as follows:—

RICHMOND, Va., March 3, 1853.

Since I left New York, I have seen the original Declaration of Independence, and I have seen it 'illustrated' here in this place. Oh, my God! Oh, my country!!

I have been an eye-witness this morning to scenes such as have never been described, and never can. You and I have been told by some of the *doughfaces* of the North, that the evils of slavery are exaggerated. But they have not been half told. I have neither the ability nor the heart to describe the scenes I have this moment come from witnessing.

I have spent two hours at the public sales of slaves. There are four of them, and all in the same street, not more than two blocks from the Exchange Hotel, where we are staying. These slave depots are in one of the most frequented streets of the place, and the sales are conducted in the building on the first floor, and within view of the passers-by. There are small screens, behind which the women of mature years are taken for inspection; but the men and the boys are publicly examined in the open store, before an audience of full one hundred. These examinations are carried on by various persons interested, and are enough to shock the feelings of the most hardened. You really cannot conceive that men in human form could conduct themselves so brutally; each *scar* or *mark* is dwelt upon with great minuteness—its cause, its general effect upon the health, &c.-&c., are questions asked and readily answered. I saw full twenty men stripped this morning, and not more than three or four of them had what they termed 'clean backs,' and some of them—I should think full one quarter of them—were scarred with the whip to such an extent as to present a frightful appearance; one in particular was so cut that I am sure you could not lay your finger on any part of his back, without coming in contact with a scar. These scars were from the whip, and were from two inches to one foot in length. These marks damaged his sale; although only about 45 or 50 years old, he only brought $460; but for these marks, he would have brought $750 to $800.

I saw several children sold; girls brought the highest price. Girls from 12 to 18 years old brought from $500 to $800.

I must say that the slaves did not display as much feeling as I had expected, as a general thing—but there was *one* noble exception—God bless her! and save her, too! as I hope he will in some way; for if he does not interpose, there were no men there that would.

She was a fine-looking woman, about 25 years old, with three beautiful children. Her children, as well as herself, were neatly dressed. She attracted my attention at once on entering the room, and I took my stand near her to learn her answers to various questions put to her by the traders. One of these traders asked her what was the matter with her eyes? Wiping away the tears, she replied, 'I s'pose I have been crying.' Why do you cry? 'Because I have left my man behind, and his master won't let him come along.' 'Oh, if I buy you, I will furnish you with a better husband, or man, as you call him, than your old one.' 'I don't want any *better*, and won't have any *other* as long as he lives.' 'Oh, but you will, though, if I buy you.' 'No, massa, God helping me, I never will.'

Did Mrs. Stowe exaggerate *the spirit* in the slave? No, no. I saw 'Cassy's' character in this woman fully and fairly 'sticking out.' Her answers to other inquiries, put by another man, were quite as 'liberty-loving' as these indicated. The most indecent questions were put to her, all of which, after a little hesitation, she answered.

But when asked, if she thought she could turn out *a child a year!* she replied, 'No, Massa, I never have any more, and I sorry I got these.'

Just before she was put up I left the room, for I am sure I could not have stood the scene, and I should have betrayed myself.

A scene occurred in this last room which 'may yet be heard from.' Just before the sale commenced, a young, well-dressed gentleman entered the room, and placing himself in one corner of the room, began to take a sketch, and had proceeded quite far before he was noticed by any one but myself. At last, he attracted the attention of some of the bystanders—until full twenty or more were looking over his shoulder. They all seemed pleased with what he was doing, so long as the sketch was a mere outline; but as he began to finish up the picture, and form his groups of figures, they began to see what he was about, and then some one went up privately to the auctioneer, (who by this time got one or two sold,) and informed him what the man was doing. He came down from the stand, went and overlooked what was doing, for a moment, and saw himself 'written down for perhaps the first time in his life.' He inquired of the man what he was doing. The reply was—'I do not know that I am bound to answer your inquiry.' Mr. Auctioneer took his stand again, but was evidently so enraged that he could not go on, for by this time the whole company was aware of what was being done, and while some proclaimed, with a *loud oath*, that the likeness was 'd—d fine,' 'most splendid,'-others were for 'footing him.' The artist took the hint, however, without the kick, and left the room. But now we had a specimen of Southern *bravery*. They were all sure that he was an abolitionist, and they all wanted to lend 'a foot' to kick him, while one small gentleman said he would pay twenty-five dollars to hire a negro to do it. The excitement soon passed over, not, however, without leaving on my mind the truth of the maxim, that

'He who fights and runs away,
May live to fight another day.'

But I cannot go further. This subject grows on my hands, and if I should only say half what I think and feel just at this time, I should tire your patience. I am *chuck full*, and shall reserve the overflow until I see you. But think me not untruthful from this unavoidable excitement; I don't tell half the truth. I have said nothing of the brutality of the audience I saw at four of these auctions. I tell you for a truth, that I saw full one hundred Legrees, and even worse than he.

These auctions are held daily, and they pay each other the courtesy to wait for each other, so that the second does not begin until the first has concluded, and so on to the last. The auctioneer of the second is on hand at the first auction to announce to—'Gentlemen, the sale of a few fine field hands, including the usual assortment of boys, girls, &c., &c., will now take place on the corner above, to which attention is directed.' Suiting the action to the word, he leaves, followed by the whole audience, myself included, to his own store, and so until four sales have been held. The usual 'Wall street honesty' is observed in the sales; if not sold, the auctioneer announces, 'withdrawn, gentlemen.'

If this morning I had been possessed of the wealth of W. B. Astor, I should have laid out some money in 'stock.' That would have eased my conscience, if it had not paid a good interest. Let this be my conclusion: If God spares me my reason and my conscience, I never will vote again for a pro-slavery man. From this time forth, I promise and declare, that I am *bound* for the *fight*. 'Freedom or Death!' shall be the 'watchword and the cry.' (Of course, I only adopt the *spirit* of the quotation, and I don't mean to do any such foolish thing as to kill myself, or allow slavery to do it, but to make all reasonable sacrifices in the cause of 'truth, right and humanity.') Keep this declaration—preserve it—and when you see me violate its spirit, like a guardian angel, appear to me, reminding me of the vows I now take upon myself.

AMERICAN SLAVERY. William Wells Brown, the fugitive American slave, delivered an interesting address on this subject, at our Town Hall, on Monday evening, to a very large and respectable audience. The hall was filled at an early hour, and many persons were compelled to go away without obtaining admittance. Mr. Brown gave a sketch of the system of slavery as it prevails at the present time in the United States, and as he was able to illustrate his statements by facts occurring in his own experience as a slave for upwards of twenty years, they made a deep impression upon all present. He showed, from the passing in 1850 and subsequent operation of the Fugitive Slave Law, that, instead of advancing, the United States were retrograding on this important question: and called upon the people of England to enter their protests on all suitable occasions against that atrocious system which not only fetters the bodies, but enslaves the minds, of all who are its unfortunate victims. Mr. Brown brought forward many instances, for the truth of which he could vouch, to show that the charges brought against Mrs. Stowe of exaggeration, in 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' were entirely unfounded, and that her description of slave life and results in the Southern States of America were true to the life. He concluded a most able address, marked throughout by a moderation of tone which, when we consider how much he has suffered from the system he was denouncing, cannot be too highly commended, amidst the loud applause of the audience.—The Rev. T. Adkins, in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Brown, which was carried by acclamation, contrasted the state of feeling at the present time in this town on the subject, with that which prevailed some years since, when the public mind was first directed to the existence of West Indian slavery, with a view to its abolition, and when the Town Hall, at a meeting held to discuss the question, was packed by a large party, including a great number of the gentry and clergy, opposed to any interference with the system as it then prevailed. We are glad to hear that Mr. Brown has consented to deliver two more addresses here in the course of the following week. The more public attention is directed to the matter the better, and no one can more ably or faithfully depict the horrors of slavery than one who has spent so many of the best years of his life in the midst of them.—*English paper.*

THE HIGHER LAW IN BOSTON. The Boston correspondent of *The Anti-Slavery Standard* gives the following bit of information:

You will be shocked to hear that there has been a meeting held here for the promotion of the Higher Law! And, which is worst of all, Mr. Rufus Choate headed the Call for it! You must know that a couple of 'fugitives from labor' recently arrived here, having escaped from Cayenne, a dependency of the French Empire, being there 'held to service or labor under the laws thereof.' Instead of being arrested and kept in custody until they could be surrendered to the person to whom 'such labor or service might be due,' a public meeting was held in the Melodeon, Mr. Choate heading the call, and sundry other Whigs, with a sprinkling of Democrats and Free Soilers, tailing it, at which they were permitted to make inflammatory speeches, which were translated, I believe, by Mr. Velasco Sargent, who has lately retreated from the *Transcript*, no longer, alas! the organ of the great Sigma. I am credibly informed that at the meeting, the supremacy of Human over Divine Law was denied, or, at least, their absolute identity questioned. Nothing was said about the Duty of Obeying Law while it is Law.

BOWDITCH ON THE SLAVE LAWS. Some months since, we announced that William I. Bowditch, Esq., of Boston, was engaged in preparing a work on the judicial decisions of the South, so far as they relate to slavery—a work which, when completed, would embrace all the valuable features of Stroud's book, now out of print, and much valuable matter beside. Last week, we published an advertisement of a work similar in design to Mr. Bowditch's, of which William Goodell is announced as the author, and which is now passing through the press under the *imprimatur* of the American and Foreign A. S. Society. We are happy in being able to state that Mr. Bowditch, who is a sound lawyer, and possesses in a preëminent degree all the qualifications requisite to ensure the accuracy of a legal work, and who has already expended a vast amount of labor and considerable expense in his enterprise, will not relinquish it on account of Mr. Goodell's publication, but will complete it as rapidly as his health and other engagements will allow. That the work will be thoroughly, as well as accurately performed, we entertain no doubt. Mr. B. has had access to the best and most reliable sources of information, and his book will contain many interesting and curious facts, hitherto buried under the rubbish of legislative and judicial bodies.—*Pennsylvania Freeman.*

ANTOINETTE L. BROWN. This lady attended and addressed the Liberty Party Convention held at Syracuse. She is one of the few women who contend for woman's right to vote, with rigid and beautiful consistency. She is a member of the Liberty Party, gives it the aid of her presence and counsel, serves on its committee, and really means what she says, when she demands the right to vote. With her, the right to vote is no abstraction, but a right to be asserted, not exercised; she means voting; and we confess our inability to see any reason in favor of man's right to choose his law-makers, that does not equally apply to the case of woman. Her right rests on the same foundation with his, and is in no respect inferior to his. The calmness, serenity, earnestness, ability and dignity with which Miss Brown advocates this right, compels the serious and respectful attention of all whom she addresses on the subject. We hope yet to hear her voice before an audience in Rochester, and that, too, on the platform of Corinthian Hall.—*Frederick Douglass's Paper.*

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, MARCH 25, 1853.

REPLY OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ. TO HON. HORACE MANN.

BOSTON, March 21, 1853.

WM. L. GARRISON, Esq.:

DEAR SIR,—Were my spirit such as Mr. MANN describes, I should answer him in the same temper in which he addresses me. The materials are ample, far more ample than he imagines. To such an one as he fancies me, they would be tempting. I shall not touch them. I retain, however, the right to remember the spirit and tone of his letters as facts from which to form, in future, my estimate of his character. If my Speech or letter had any force, it came from the facts I stated, not from the epithets in which they were wrapped. I shall observe that rule now, and commend it to Mr. MANN for adoption.

Mr. MANN is much excited by my speaking of his past relations to the anti-slavery cause. He says I have not stated the facts correctly. I have looked over my statement, and reaffirm it. I leave that statement and his denial to the judgment of the anti-slavery public, and shall cheerfully abide the verdict. He considers my reference to these facts unnecessary personality. I do not think so. He had claimed, in his first letter, that his services to the anti-slavery cause had been so marked, and his course so decisive and outspoken, that I was not justified in suspecting him of want of frankness, even if his language looked like it. This claim might possibly have some weight with those as young in the movement as himself. I felt bound, therefore, to show that his past history and conduct had been such that I had no reason to be *surprised* at his course in Congress, or to hold back from the judgment to which his language naturally led. Words take much of their hue from the character that stands behind them.

Mr. MANN is equally offended with my rebuke of him five years ago, in regard to the Colored School question. He says that I 'came up stealthily behind him, and struck him dastard blows, when the planning and execution of a great educational enterprise was confided to his hands, and he was encountering the opposition and hostilities of selfishness in a thousand forms.' I hardly know what he means by '*stealthily*' and '*dastard*.' I never have had the pleasure of any personal acquaintance with Mr. MANN, and hence could not address him privately. Besides, he was the Officer of a Commonwealth of which I was a citizen, and entitled, therefore, to criticise his public acts through the press. I published my remarks in THE LIBERATOR, the appropriate organ through which to arraign any man who commits a crime against the colored race. I should have been glad to have printed them in the *Daily Advertiser* or *Boston Atlas*; but Mr. MANN knows well they would not publish a line from me. I gave my remarks, therefore, all the publicity I could. So much for '*stealthily*.' As for the *time* I chose, I can only say, I criticised his Reports the moment I saw them; and, in one case, the moment his Report was out of the press. In those very criticisms, I spoke with admiration of his 'devoted zeal and untiring labor as Secretary,' and expressed my 'deep sympathy in all his efforts and trials.' For some twenty years, the cruel, degrading, injurious, and utterly illegal system of separate schools for colored children,—the result of American prejudice against color,—had prevailed in our cities and large towns. A few of us had been besieging, for some ten years, Legislative committees and City committees, to get such schools abolished. In our almost hopeless efforts, we had borne the insults of politicians and the jeers of the press; but still, at great cost and effort, we persevered. All this while, Mr. MANN was the head of the School system of Massachusetts, and it was suspected that, in private, he entirely agreed with us in our views. Such an officer we had a right to expect would lead our van. Such, I knew, was the state of public opinion in the rural districts, that a few pages in his Annual Reports would be a mighty help to us. Instead of this, he never gave us one word of recognition, countenance or aid. At last, when he did speak on the subject at all, his language was calculated to do so much harm, that I felt called on to protest against it.

I knew he had a great educational enterprise on his hands. I thought that he fancied he should increase his ability to serve that, by smothering his convictions as to the wrong done the colored man. This false philosophy was all I charged him with. I never charged him with personal or low ambition. But when Mr. MANN has been longer acquainted with the anti-slavery enterprise, he will learn that we never grant any one leave to sacrifice the *rights* of the colored man, in the idea of being thereby better able to benefit the white; leave, that is, to do evil that good may come. This is the universal excuse for not helping the slave. Many a man says, 'If I touch the slave question, I shall be less able to serve my church—my party—my business—my college,' &c. &c. For this, we have criticised WEBSTER and BEECHER—even ADAMS, RANTOUL, and HALE. What claim had HORACE MANN to be an exception? He will observe that I did not bring this old matter forward till he forced me to do so by his allusions to the past.

This is no personal matter between Mr. MANN and myself. It is a grave charge of serious misconduct in public office. The separate Colored School still exists in Boston, with all its cruel, degrading, and injurious effects. How much of the guilt of its continuance is chargeable on HORACE MANN'S silence, not to use a stronger term, no one can tell. The criticism of the anti-slavery press was not lost. He has since taken a colored girl to board at his table. She was a student at the Normal School, and no other family in the village would admit her. I have known this fact for some time. I mention it with pleasure. All honor to Mr. MANN for it. None but an American knows how much honor he deserves for it. He will live to repent yet of the wrong he did the colored children of the State, by his systematic and designed silence. I have so much confidence in his magnanimity as to believe he will yet confess that repentance.

Mr. MANN asserts that I have not quoted his speeches at sufficient length to do him justice. I do not think your readers will blame me for not quoting enough. I used your columns as liberally as I dared. However, his volume may be found at all the bookstores, and is, as its eloquence and masterly logic well deserve, in the hands of many abolitionists. Any one can easily satisfy himself whether I have done Mr. MANN any injustice. There is one paragraph, a few lines of which I omitted, to save space, giving notice by asterisks that parts had been omitted. He says if I do not now quote this in full, it will be because I dare not. Why did he not copy the paragraph himself, since your columns were as open to him as to me for such a purpose? However, to gratify him in every particular, please copy, in a note hereto, the paragraph on his 206th and 207th pages, first as I quoted it, and then as it stands in his volume.* Every one, who will take the trouble to compare the two, will see that the omitted lines do not change the sense in the slightest degree. In this paragraph, uttered in 1850, Mr. MANN declared that '*The Constitution of the United States, and the law of* 1793, *being at an end, the law of nature revives. By this law, every case of an escaping slave is but the recovery of stolen goods. When they cross the line into a free State, they are free—as free as you or I.* THE STATES BEING SEPARATED, I WOULD AS SOON RETURN MY OWN BROTHER OR SISTER INTO BONDAGE, AS I WOULD RETURN A FUGITIVE SLAVE. BEFORE GOD, AND CHRIST, AND ALL CHRISTIAN MEN, THEY ARE MY BROTHERS AND SISTERS.'

I understood this to mean, that, until the States were separated, his conduct would be different; else why make the condition? Every man whom I meet understood it so. I doubt whether, of his thousand readers, Mr. MANN can find one who did not so understand it. He affirms he did not mean to be so understood. I can only say, that, with Mr. MANN'S wonderful control of language, it is marvellously strange that he should, on this occasion, have succeeded so poorly in conveying his meaning. In 1850, Mr. MANN avowed, as I have shown by abundant quotations, that the Constitution ordered the return of fugitive slaves; a doctrine to which, if I understand his last letter, he still adheres. In the same speech in which he made this avowal, he, page 182, classes himself with those whose '*allegiance to the Constitution is unshaken*'; and again, in the same speech, he uses this language—p. 213:

'Two things exist at the North, which the South does not fully appreciate—the depth and intensity of our abhorrence of slavery, and that reverence for the law which keeps it in check. We are a law-abiding people. But, *release us from our obligations, tear off from the bond with your own hands the signatures which bind our consciences* and repress our feelings, destroy those compensations which the world and which posterity would derive from a continuance of this Union, and well may you tremble for the result.'

What does Mr. MANN mean by human law keeping his abhorrence of slavery in check? I trample in the dust every human law that would check my abhorrence of slavery or of any wickedness.

Is he a 'law-abiding' man, in the sense of obeying any law which upholds slavery? Can any human *bonds* or *signatures bind* a man's *conscience* to do wrong—to return slaves? This speech, he says, was addressed to the South. Does any one doubt how Southern men understood such language, wholly unqualified?

Afterwards, in that same year, 1850, *while speaking of the Fugitive Slave Act, and of its violating the Constitution*, he said—

'I disdain to avail myself, in a sober argument, of the popular sensitiveness on this subject; and I ACKNOWLEDGE MY OBLIGATIONS TO THE CONSTITUTION, WHILE IT IS SUFFERED TO LAST.' But still, I say, that the man who can read this bill without having his blood boil in his veins, has a power of refrigeration that would cool the tropics.'

What does this mean, if it does not mean that he will obey that clause of the instrument which orders fugitive slaves to be returned?

With such printed pages before me, not to speak of others, I assert that I was fully justified in charging him with a willingness to return fugitive slaves to their masters, while the present Constitution lasted.

He now withdraws and repudiates this sentiment. I am glad of it. If he ever held it, I am glad he repents. If he has been grossly misunderstood, the fault is his own, and he should thank me for calling his attention to it, and giving him an opportunity to explain himself.

In regard to my quotations to show that Free Soilers have no wish to interfere with slavery in the States, and 'consent to let slavery remain where it is,' Mr. Mann says I do him injustice, because they were all 'spoken in his capacity as a Congressional legislator, or with reference to legislation by Congress.' He is incorrect here. The quotation which I made before, from page 212, says, the South 'complain of Northern agitation on the subject of slavery, and Northern instigation of slaves to escape.' This is not party agitation, political agitation, legislative agitation, but Northern agitation. He speaks, too, of 'instigating slaves to escape.' From this, it is evident that he had the whole movement on his mind, and not its 'legislative' aspect alone. For when did anybody ever 'complain' of *political parties* or *legislatures* 'instigating slaves to escape'? The next sentence speaks of 'agitation,' putting the word between quotation marks. Now, every body in the free States knows what that term means; knows that it describes the *whole* anti-slavery movement, moral as well as political. It is in this sense, also, that Mr. MANN himself uses it, on his 392-3-4-5th pages, commenting on Webster's impudent declaration, that 'agitation must be put down.' Yet he says, 'They [the North] have never *agitated* the question of slavery in the States.'

If all this, not to adduce other passages, does not mean what it appears to, the public have a right to ask Mr. MANN to be more careful, in future, to express exactly what he does mean.

But granting Mr. MANN spoke those passages only in his Congressional legislative, political capacity, they prove exactly what I charged. My original language was—

'The same speech contains the usual deprecatory assertions, that Free Soilers have no wish to interfere with slavery in the States; that they 'consent to let slavery remain where it is.' If he means that he, HORACE MANN, a moral and accountable being, 'consents to let slavery remain where it is, all the rest of his speech is sound and fury, signifying nothing. If he means that he, HORACE MANN, *as a politician and party man*, consents to that, but, elsewhere and otherwise, will do his best to abolish this "all-comprehending wickedness of slavery," in which every wrong and every crime has its natural home," then he should have plainly said so. Otherwise, his disclaimer is an unworthy trick, which could have deceived no one. He must have known that all the South care for is the *action*, not in what *capacity* the deed is done.'

I did not say JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS, CHARLES SUMNER, or HORACE MANN 'had no wish to interfere,' &c., but these gentlemen AS FREE SOILERS, i. e., acting in their Congressional, legislative, party capacity. And I charged further, that Mr. MANN was not explicit in letting his hearers know in what capacity these humbling and crippling words were said, and how far they bound him. He thinks he has been sufficiently explicit, and refers the reader to his whole volume. So do I—and cheerfully abide the verdict of any one who will read it with care. But, mark! *he now confesses that he does hold himself bound, as a* CONGRESSIONAL LEGISLATOR, *not to interfere with the subject of slavery in the States, and as such, 'consents to let slavery remain where it is.'* This I consider the great weakness and mistake of the Free Soil party. The Constitution, as it stands, gives no power to interfere, directly, with slavery in the States, except, in J. Q. Adams's opinion, when some crisis in war shall make it necessary. The opinion of so eminent a statesman, as able a judge of Constitutional law as we have ever had, is reason enough why an anti-slavery legislator should never assert, in unqualified terms, that we have no right to interfere with slavery in the States. Let us hold on with tenacious grasp, and keep constantly familiar, every, even the slightest claim we have to such an interference.

But, in excusing himself for his official oath, Mr. MANN says, 'I do not swear to support the Constitution in any such sense as forbids my *doing all I can* to alter it. In that office, I have better means of changing it. Now, how is the Constitution to be altered? By *Congressional legislation*. Congress proposes amendments, and submits them, for ratification, to the States. This right draws after it the political right to 'agitate the question of slavery in the States,' which Mr. MANN so carefully repudiates. At the ballot-box, in political conventions, in Mr. MANN'S place in Congress, a man can 'agitate' to have the President chosen for life, to abolish the war-powers of Congress, to have women vote, to abolish slavery in the States. The whole question of slavery in the States is open, therefore, to every political man in the Union. Mr. MANN is young in the anti-slavery cause, or he would have learned the distinction we have always made between *legislation* and *agitation*. No one, except GERRIT SMITH'S party, has ever claimed the right to *legislate* on State slavery, while the Constitution remains as it is. But, in defiance of HENRY CLAY, in 1839, and both the pro-slavery parties, we have always claimed the right to 'agitate the question of slavery in the States,' even on the floor of Congress, in our political capacity, as well as in every other. To be sure, the attempt to alter the Constitution, in this respect, is about as hopeless as the purpose which some Free Soilers avow, of altering its three-fifths slave basis of representation. Both are equally hopeless. But the right to stir them is invaluable. Why, then, this perpetual harping, by Free Soilers, on the impossibility of their saying this and the other thing, or avowing this or the other purpose, in their *political* capacity? I assert that a Free Soiler, no matter where he stands, in Congress or out, can honorably make every effort and avow every purpose that an abolitionist can, except the effort and the purpose to disobey the Constitution as it stands. That glorious right constitutes our peculiar privilege, and whenever any Free Soiler uses it, he stamps himself as foresworn. Up to that limit he can go, and is bound to go; and whenever he fails to do so, he fails in his duty to the slave. Most of the political abolitionists, who talk so much of 'political capacity,' and 'under the Constitution,' do it to propitiate public sentiment, knowing well enough, all the while, what their rights and what their designs are. In this description, I by no means include Mr. MANN. Such men know that, even under the present Constitution, were it possible Free Soilers should ever get the rule, our Federal government, by indirect influence, could in various ways interfere with slavery in the States. Let it establish the perfectly constitutional rule, that no slaveholder should ever be appointed to National office, and there are States where such a course would kill slavery in five years. Sagacious men of the party know this, and intend to adopt it whenever possible. Yet they go about, and allow their confederates to go about, disclaiming all wish to 'agitate slavery in the States,' and all right to interfere with it there. If they mean what they say, it is treason to the slave; if they do not mean it, it is hypocrisy. What is the crowning argument always used, even by Free Soilers, with Northern audiences, to make them ask for the abolition of slavery in the District, and of the internal slave trade? That such acts will materially affect slavery within the States. With what truth, then, can the representatives of that party assert, that, in any sense, it 'consents to let slavery remain where it is,' or deny that it 'agitates the question of slavery in the States'?

Even in the above mentioned paragraph, Mr. MANN shows his heedlessness or insufficient information. He deliberately enumerates the objects which Northern agitation has sought to compass, and twice asserts that those he names are the *only* ones ever attempted. Yet, not to mention the sanctity of the public mail rifled by slaveholding committees, and other smaller matters, we do not find in his list the abolition of the Internal Slave Trade,—a subject on which we have petitioned Congress for years, and one which every abolitionist, till within a few years, and almost every one now, deems to be within the legislative control of Congress. Neither do we find in his list the abolition of the three-fifths slave basis of Representation,—a question on which ADAMS and GIDDINGS have given us the ablest State paper ever written on political anti-slavery. I allude to their Report to the House of Representatives in the year 1844. This has been an aim of every political movement against slavery, from the Hartford Convention, in 1814, down to the organization of the Free Soil party, which adopted and ably argued it at first. Could Mr. MANN find no place, in his list, for that one bright spot in Northern statesmanship, the sunset glory of old Federalism, RUFUS KING'S movement in the Senate of the United States, for the abolition of slavery itself? I beg, for the honor of the North, that he will inform himself better, before he undertakes again to recount its anti-slavery history.

We come now to the question of Free Soilers swearing to support a Constitution which orders the return of fugitive slaves. And here Mr. MANN, as is usually the case with his friends, becomes confused and obscure. I asked him the plain and direct question, whether he held that the Constitution did order such return. *This question he has not answered.* But I infer, from the general tenor of his letter and argument, that he now holds, as he always has done, that the Constitution does so order, and that Free Soilers generally agree with him. This being premised, let us see what he says, in his first letter, of this Constitutional oath:—

'I know of no Free Soiler who has ever felt any trouble on that score, or has ever been "slow to meet the question." And this, *for the simple reason that we swear to support the Constitution of the United States, because, with our interpretation of it, it requires us to do nothing in violation of the Higher Law of God.*'

Why insert the phrase, '*with our interpretation of it*,' since it now appears that their interpretation is the common one? It misled me, I confess, into supposing that Mr. MANN had adopted Mr. LYSANDER SPOONER'S view. It seems he had not, and the words are superfluous. But I call the attention of the anti-slavery public to the sentence above, in italics. Mark—he says he 'knows of NO FREE SOILER.' This includes the Free Soil voter, the Free Soil Representative, the Free Soil Senator, the Free Soil candidate for President. That Free Soil voter is liable, at any time, to be called by the United States marshal to help him capture fugitive slaves; or if, as some think, that duty belongs to the States, the State sheriff may call on him for the same purpose; and the voter being in some States under an express, and in all, under an implied oath to the Constitution, is legally bound to obey. That Free Soil Representative, in his place in Congress, votes to pay the marshal, who has done that service to the State, and the Judge who issued the precept. The Free Soil Senator is one who appoints Judges for that purpose. The Free Soil candidate for the Presidency, when he accepts the nomination, avows that he is ready to take the office of appointing such Judges and such marshals, and of executing, with the whole military power of the nation, that clause of the Constitution, if it be opposed. Mark, also—it is no matter whether, in such offices, they intend actually to do these deeds. Mr. MANN cannot deny that these are deeds which the Constitution 'requires them to do.' Now Mr. HORACE MANN tells us, that all these persons find no difficulty 'in swearing to support the Constitution, because, with their interpretation of it, [which is the usual one,] IT REQUIRES THEM TO DO NOTHING IN VIOLATION OF THE HIGHER LAW OF GOD.'

I call on the whole North and the whole South to get this confession by heart, and fling it in the face of every Free Soiler who shall hereafter undertake to talk of the *sin* of returning slaves into bondage.

Again, after some distinctions about his own oath, which I shall presently notice, Mr. MANN says, in his last letter—

'I swear as a Member of the House of Representatives, not as a United States Marshal or foul Fugitive Slave Law Commissioner. When Free Soilers are found taking an oath which shall oblige them to return fugitive slaves, then let them be blasted with the swiftest lightning.'

Last fall, Mr. MANN voted, I presume, for JOHN P. HALE for President. It matters not to the responsibility of a voter, whether his candidate be elected or not. He does all he can to elect him, by giving him his vote. At the same time, Mr. MANN himself consented to receive the votes of his party for the office of Governor of Massachusetts. Now, if the Supreme Court is right, Mr. HALE, if elected President, would have been bound to appoint Marshals to execute the slave surrender clause, and to execute it himself, if it were resisted. If that Court is wrong, and the Free Soilers are right, in holding that the clause refers to the States, and needs no auxiliary legislation, then Mr. MANN, if Governor, would have been bound to see it obeyed. You will please observe, that I am not supposing either of these men would actually do such an infamous deed. I only assert, in Mr. MANN'S language, that their respective *oaths would oblige them to do it.* In voting, then, for Mr. HALE, Mr. MANN asked his friend to take 'an oath which obliges him to return fugitive slaves.' On the other supposition, in consenting to stand as Governor, he offered himself to take such an oath, if his fellow-citizens should elect him. Now if a Free Soiler, who takes such an oath, should be 'blasted with the swiftest lightning,' how swift ought the lightning to be for one, who, by his vote, asks his friend to take it, or for one who offers to take himself? My moral optics are not, I confess, sharp enough to see much difference. Mr. MANN will please observe, that I have not been speaking of the *Fugitive Slave Act*, whose constitutionality he and I should deny, but of *the constitutional slave clause itself*; and my whole argument refers to that. It is evident that, allowing, as Mr. MANN does, that there is a fugitive slave clause in the Constitution, it must be executed by somebody, in some form or other. If by the Union, then, in voting for HALE, Mr. MANN asked his friend to be, in fact, Chief of 'United States Marshals and foul Fugitive Slave Law Commissioners.' But if that duty belongs to the States, then, in offering to become a State Governor, he offered himself to become, virtually, a Marshal or Commissioner for this purpose.

Of his own oath as Member of the House of Representatives, Mr. MANN says he considers it *special*, and not GENERAL; referring only to the duties of that office. To this well-known distinction, I do not wholly assent; but I cheerfully accept it for the purpose of the present argument. If, for the last two years, Mr. MANN has voted for the usual bills appropriating money for the expenses of government, he has voted to pay Marshal Devens for carrying Thomas Sims from Boston back to Georgia, and to pay the salaries of Peleg Sprague and B. R. Curtis, who tried Elizur Wright and other alleged rescuers of Shadrach. If he has ever voted for an appropriation bill, during his whole Congressional life, he has voted to pay the salary of one Judge McLean, a Western miscreant, who is rarely heard of except as sending back some hapless fugitive, or fining, into absolute poverty, some Christian who has helped the wanderer. Whether it is more honorable to return slaves one's self, or to pay other men for doing it, Mr. MANN can decide at his leisure. The old saw, *Qui facit per alium, facit per se*, I hold to be good logic and good Latin—though as to the last, having Webster's fate before my eyes, I will assert nothing just now. If Mr. MANN shall allege that he has never once voted for an appropriation bill, then he has broken his oath; for he has failed to do that which the Constitution and common honesty required him to do; namely, pay the salaries of men, who, according to the Supreme Court, the established final interpreter of the Constitution, had done only their legal constitutional duty. Mr. MANN can choose either horn of the dilemma he prefers.

I had affirmed, that an oath to the people of the United States was binding in that sense in which he who took it knew, at the time, that the people understood him to offer it. This familiar principle is sanctioned by every moralist, from half-Christian Cicero down to half-pagan Wayland. Mr. MANN denies it! He asserts that as an 'oath makes God a party to the transaction, it is binding in that sense in which he knows the party took it'! This is virtually the Jesuits' rule, that promises are binding, not as the parties understood them, but as the promisor secretly intended. That is, a man may swear one thing and mean another, and God justifies him! I do not so hold; neither will Mr. MANN, when he thinks of it a second time.

Mr. MANN next says that his 'guides to duty are his conscience and his Maker.' Had he been holding a discussion with Brownson, the remark would perhaps have been pertinent, though somewhat trite. Nobody this side of Rome ever denied the proposition; certainly, I never did. If he will read my letter more carefully, —which I beg him in future to do,—he will see that I never asked him what his 'guides to duty' were. I did ask him how he reconciled himself to his anti-slavery principles, in swearing support to a Constitution which he allowed to be pro-slavery. I must say, I do not think I have yet succeeded in obtaining much of an answer.

The Constitution I take to be a list of principles, conditions and agreements. Whoever, on reading, assents to them, and can honestly promise to put them into execution, is qualified to take office under it. The Government is a whole, a unit—all its parts intimately connected. One can hardly take the humblest office in it, without becoming partaker in the responsibility of every other. The Supreme Court is established as the final interpreter of the Constitution; and every man who swears to support and execute it, swears to do so in the sense which that Court has declared to be the true and legal sense of the instrument. This doctrine Webster engraved on the political tombstone of Hayne and Nullification. When Mr. MANN is ready to 'throw himself right across that path,' and dispute it, I shall be happy to listen to him, if I have time. Meanwhile, he asks, confusedly, what one shall do if the Supreme Court changes its decision, or what in case the people and the Court differ. I will not show such disrespect to his character as a lawyer as to suppose that he really thinks these questions deserve an answer.

I maintained that Mr. MANN'S oath or promise was made to the nation, and binding on him in the sense in which he knew the nation understood it.* To this he answers that 'Howell Cobb and Linn Boyd understood perfectly well in what sense I would take the oath, when they called me to the Speaker's desk and administered it.' Howell Cobb! Linn Boyd! These may be very worthy individuals; but I never heard that they were authorised to dispense with the oath prescribed by the Constitution, and administer a new one. Mr. Cobb was appointed to administer the oath, not to explain, qualify or new shape it. Mr. MANN knows that, as well as Howell Cobb or myself. His office was purely ministerial. It might have been performed by an automaton. Indeed, the whole thing might have been completed by the sign of Mr. MANN'S dropping a white ball into a deal box. Mr. MANN goes on—'All the nation, and the Supreme Court, who cared to know, knew as well as they did. At any rate, it was not my fault if they did not know; I had told them often enough.' I can hardly bring myself to believe that HORACE MANN, the author of that masterly argument against the Fugitive Slave Law, ever penned these sentences in serious earnest. Like poor Moses Stuart, had he no friend to prevent his jesting so untimely? How Webster would have snatched at such words from HORACE MANN to prove the contemptuous assertion, that 'his opinion on a law question was not worth regarding'!

But let us look back a moment. Mr. MANN has just been telling us that his *special* oath, as member of Congress, did not bind him to do any thing as to fugitive slaves, or any thing wrong. What occasion, then, had he to enter into any explanations with those worthy individuals, 'Howell Cobb and Linn Boyd'? What occasion had he to 'tell' so 'often' 'the nation and the Supreme Court' 'in what' particular 'sense' he took the oath? He has been asserting, all along before, that he took it just as every body else did; and he made himself rather merry at my not being aware of the 'plain and palpable legal distinction' which covered all members of Congress. But now, behold, even this special oath is of such a nature that he is obliged to have some private understanding with Mr. Cobb and Mr. Boyd. This is very singular. Will Mr. MANN please let the world know what little function there was which other members of the House promised to fulfil, but which he privately begged 'Howell Cobb and Linn Boyd' to excuse him from?

Seriously, I mean to assert that, up to this moment, no man in this Commonwealth, or elsewhere, had any reason to know or think, from any public word or act of Mr. MANN, that he took that oath with any qualification or reservation, or in any sense peculiar to himself. I respectfully ask Mr. MANN to point me to the passage of his printed speeches, where he gives any frank expression of his unwillingness to take the oath to the Constitution in the usual sense. GERRIT SMITH may take this position of public notice; LYSANDER SPOONER may take it. They have spoken boldly, long and loud about it. I do not discuss, now, whether it be tenable. But if Mr. MANN finds, in defending his oath, that he must needs assume it, I deny that his past course entitles him to any such defence. *His claiming it shows me that he cannot, to his own satisfaction, defend his oath on the ground* which he tries to silence me with, namely, that the oath is *special*, and not *general*. Was I indeed so very far wrong in saying that Mr. MANN lacked frankness?

Mr. Mann says—'If it be true that a promise is binding in that sense in which the promisor knows the promisee understands it, it is just as true, whatever words may be used, that a promise is no further binding than as the promisee knows the promisor understands it.'

Very true. I thank him for the terseness of the statement, and think I can show him, in this connection, his mistake about the oath. I will talk to him as a lawyer. He knows that a sealed instrument can only be avoided by a sealed instrument—one contract by another of equal solemnity. He is aware, also, of the common principle, that a judge, for instance, may know a fact in his private capacity, which he is not bound, or indeed authorized to know, or take notice of, in his *official character*, till it is proved to him by competent legal evidence. Now, in the matter of the oath, Mr. Mann is the promisor, and the nation is promisee. Mr. Mann knows, by *official acts*—the Constitution and Supreme Court—acts he is *legally bound to know and notice*, how the nation understands his oath. Can he show that the nation knows, by any *official acts* of his —*acts of which the nation is legally bound to take notice*—in what new or particular sense he accepts the oath? When he can, I will allow that he is justified in taking an oath to the Constitution, meaning to obey only a part of it.

An oath to the Constitution is a promise to the nation. It is made, not to Howell Cobb or Linn Boyd, but to me and to you—to Benton in St. Louis—to the merchant on the New Orleans levee—to the squatter in Wisconsin—to the planter on the banks of the Roanoke and the Altamaha. It was agreed on in 1787. Then Massachusetts and Carolina came together. They agreed to entrust their common interests, peace and war, commerce and manufactures, to joint representatives. On what conditions shall we do this? said they to each other. On condition, said Carolina to Massachusetts, that you send no man into the general council, who does not first agree to be bound and limited by this Constitution, the whole of it. It was so settled, and they parted, one to her rice swamps, and the other to her fisheries; each at liberty to devote herself wholly to her own business, and not obliged to watch perpetually the other's action, sure that no man would be allowed to touch the general Commonwealth, who had not first consented to the settled limitations.

Now, look at Mr. Mann's theory, and let us test it. He explains to his constituents at home, that when he swears to support the Constitution, he means to support all but one clause. They accept him with that understanding, and send him to Washington. He goes to the Speaker's desk to take the oath. Before doing so, he informs the Speaker of the sense in which he takes it. What would be the Speaker's duty? He would say—'Mr. Mann, officially, I cannot notice your scruples. Here is the oath. I am not here to construe it. You know what the Court says it means. If you are ready to take it *as it stands*, I am ready to administer it. To change it in the least is to make it another oath. The law tells me to administer *this oath*, not any other.'

But, says Mr. Mann, my constituents elected me knowing that I would not take the whole oath. I have talked about it 'so often,' that almost every body knows it.

The Speaker replies—You might have whispered your explanations to your wife, or written and deposited them in your boots, just as well as have printed them in the *Dedham Gazette* or *Boston Commonwealth*. You know such publication is no legal notice to the nation. As the old English speaker said, 'I have no eyes here but the eyes of the House'—can see nothing but what the law sees. I cannot notice explanations. As for your constituents, they got all their right to choose you from the nation; and the nation never gave them a right to choose any man, except one who consented to the *whole Constitution*.

So, Mr. Mann sits down, and I (who had watched the experiment with some interest—for if it succeeds, who knows but I might get sent to the Great and General Court from some come-outer town on the Cape?) come up and whisper in his ear that, after all, the Speaker is right. For what is he attempting to do? To get released from a part of the original promises; since his oath is not just what Fisher Ames's was. Well, this may be done, provided the other party to the promise consents to release him. But who is the other party? Not his constituents—not the Speaker—not the Supreme Court—*but the Nation*. When and where, then, has the Nation (Illinois, for instance, as one part of it) consented that Mr. Mann shall construe the oath to suit himself, or take part of it, and leave the rest?

To justify himself, Mr. Mann must, I think, show one or two of the following three things:—

1st. That the Nation has officially released him from some part of the oath. Or,

2d. That the Nation allows him to construe the oath and the Constitution to suit himself. And,

3d. That he construes the Constitution to be anti-slavery throughout, and so can honestly undertake to execute the whole.

On any other theory, what check has South Carolina over Mr. Mann's constituents, with whom she has shared her sovereignty? Her only check is the oath, in its full, natural, and pre-determined sense. Any other theory destroys the Government. My old, valued and noble friend, GERRIT SMITH,—a name never to be mentioned but with profound respect,—goes into Congress, holding himself entitled to use his powers, as legislator, to abolish slavery in the States—to let women vote—to annihilate the war powers of Congress. On the same principle, another man may go there to change the republic to a monarchy. What does Mr. Mann think of this? His theory of private interpretation—agreement with constituents—understanding with Howell Cobb—covers all this, if it covers any thing. The constitutional oath is like the moral law. If you can once get the point of a needle through it, the same hole will accommodate a six horse coach.

Mr. Mann indulges in epithets and insinuations which may 'catch the ears of the groundlings,' but it would not become me to notice them.

Yours, respectfully,

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

P. S. I shall hold it a kindness if those Editors, who copy Mr. Mann's letter, will find a place also for this.

* For the extracts here referred to, see the last column of this page.

* Mr. Mann is somewhat earnest about accuracy of quotation. Let him 'reck his own read.' I never said, as he represents me, that promises or oaths 'are binding in that sense in which the nation understands them,' or that the 'oath is binding according as the nation and the Supreme Court construe it.' I said, 'A promise is binding in that sense in which the *promisor knows* the promisee understands it.' Mr. Mann is clear-sighted enough to see the distinction.

MR. MANN AND MR. PHILLIPS.

The following are the extracts referred to in the note appended to Mr. Phillips's letter, in the first column. It seems to us that it must require 'optics sharp' to see wherein Mr. P's quotation does any injustice, in any particular, to the views expressed by Mr. MANN in his entire paragraph.

Mr. Phillips's Quotation.

'An outside belt or border region of the slave states, no part of which shall be more than one hundred miles from a free frontier, would embrace nearly one half of their whole area; and, as I suppose, much more than one half of their whole slave population. What is to prevent the easy escape of slaves living within these limits? While God sends nights upon the earth, nothing can prevent it. I venture to predict, that in such a state of things, slaves will become cheap, and horses will become dear. I am aware of your laws which forbid slaves to cross bridges or ferries, without a pass; but you can have no law against seasons of low water. The old adage says, 'riches have wings.' You will find that these riches have legs. The Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, where they border upon free states, will be alive as with shoals of porpoises. *Remember there is no Constitution of the United States now. That you have broken. The free states are, therefore, absolved from all obligation to surrender fugitives. The law of* 1793 *is at an end. . . . . The Constitution of the United States, and the law of* 1793, *being at an end, the law of nature revives.* . . . . THE STATES BEING SEPARATED, I WOULD AS SOON RETURN MY OWN BROTHER OR SISTER INTO BONDAGE, AS I WOULD RETURN A FUGITIVE SLAVE. BEFORE GOD, AND CHRIST, AND ALL CHRISTIAN MEN, THEY ARE MY BROTHERS AND SISTERS.'

Mr. Mann's Paragraph.

First, as to the recovery, or non-recovery, of fugitive slaves, which is one of the alleged provocatives of dissolution. Take a map of the Southern States, and spread it out before you. Although they cover an area of about nine hundred thousand square miles, you it is a very remarkable fact, that only an insignificantly small portion of this vast extent lies more than two hundred and fifty miles from a free frontier; and these parts which do lie beyond this distance hold but few slaves. These portions of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee, where their upper boundaries converge among the mountains, are a little more than this distance from a free border; but this territory is relatively insignificant in size, and sparsely populated with slaves. An outside belt or border region of the slave states, no part of which shall be more than one hundred miles from a free frontier, would embrace nearly one half of their whole area; and, as I suppose, much more than one half of their whole slave population. What is to prevent the easy escape of slaves living within these limits? While God sends nights upon the earth, nothing can prevent it. I venture to predict, that in such a state of things, slaves will become cheap, and horses will become dear. I am aware of your laws which forbid slaves to cross bridges or ferries, without a pass; but you can have no law against seasons of low water. The old adage says, 'riches have wings.' You will find that these riches have legs. The Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, where they border upon free states, will be alive as with shoals of porpoises. Remember there is no Constitution of the United States now. That you have broken. The free states are, therefore, absolved from all obligation to surrender fugitives. The law of 1793 is at an end. The fugitive slave law of 1850, in all its parts, is unconstitutional. That is the fact, the undeniable fact. The constitution of the United States, and the law of 1793, being at an end, the law of nature revives. By the law of nature, each man is entitled to the results of his own labor, and cannot rightfully be deprived of them without his consent. Every man is a finder of stolen goods. No man can rightfully detain from the finder the goods he finds, knowing them to be stolen, without compensating him for his labor. When they cross the line into a free State, they are free—as free as you or I. And the right of the finder to the property found, supersedes the right of the former owner to the services of the finder. When, therefore, a fugitive slave has escaped from his master, and has been found by another person, the finder has a right to the services of the fugitive, as against the master. The finder has a right to the fugitive's services, for the reasonable value of finding him. The fugitive has a right to the value of his services, as against the master, for the time they have been withheld from him. The master has a right to the fugitive's services, as against the finder, for the reasonable value of finding him. The fugitive has a right to the value of his services, as against the finder

REV. MR. FOSS, IN LEICESTER.

LEICESTER, March 12, 1853.

DEAR MR. GARRISON: As you are aware, Rev. Axtell T. Foss, of New Hampshire, has been recently engaged by the Worcester County (South) Anti-Slavery Society to lecture, as their Agent, on the subject of American Slavery, in all the towns comprised within their limits, or in as many of them as possible. He commenced on the 10th February last, and has been steadily and diligently at work since that time, having lectured and preached, on this subject, in West Boylston, Worcester, Millbury, Grafton, Shrewsbury, Southboro', Sutton, Westboro', Leicester, Northboro' and Berlin; and also Hopkinton and Marlboro' beyond the county limits. Mr. Foss will himself, I hope and believe, soon make a fuller report of his labors in these places than I am able to do. My purpose now is to give a statement of his labors in this town, and of the circumstances attending them.

When I learned from Mr. Foss that he proposed to visit Leicester, I determined to do all in my power to obtain for him a full and candid hearing. Leicester is a town highly reputed for soundness in what is technically called the *evangelical* or *orthodox* faith. So extremely strict are the religionists of the place, that no false doctrine shall be countenanced here, that the evangelical ministers, a year or two since, refused even to exchange pulpits with their people that you, Sir, and our truehearted and faithful brother, Stephen S. Foster, were invited to attend an anti-slavery meeting in the town. One of them, who claimed to be a decided abolitionist, refused to preside at the meeting, or participate in any way in the meeting, because of the *infidelity* of yourself and Mr. Foster—or, more likely, my own, too, though he did did not tell me so. Another of them, sometime after, refused his consent for the use of a vestry, which had been asked for for the purpose of having Daniel Foster lecture therein; on the ground, as I understood, of his association with the infidel anti-slavery people. But I could not help thinking that Mr. Foss would meet with better success, inasmuch as no one disputed the orthodoxy of his doctrinal creed, as he was understood to hold all the essential evangelical opinions, and was known to be a minister 'in good and regular standing' in the Baptist denomination. To be sure, he had troubled the Baptist church, more or less, for ten or fifteen years, with his efforts to save them from the sin of enslaving God's children in this free land, but it was hoped that this would not be an insurmountable objection. As there is a Baptist Society in the town, I thought it no more than right to give them the first hearing of Mr. Foss, and the opportunity to introduce him to the people of Leicester. Accordingly I applied, through a friend, to know if their pulpit would be granted to Mr. Foss for half a day, on Sunday, March 6, that he might preach therein on the subject of American Slavery. In return I learned that the minister, Mr. Burbank, decidedly refused his consent to have the pulpit or house used for *any such purpose*. Members of the Society had no objection to hear Mr. Foss; but the will of the minister, in this case, was stronger than theirs. I then applied to the two Congregational Societies, one Trinitarian, the other Unitarian. I addressed a respectful letter to Rev. Mr. Denison, the junior pastor of the former, stating to him Mr. Foss's standing and his errand, and that he wished, as a Christian minister, to present to as many hearers as possible this subject of the heathenish and cruel treatment of three millions of our brethren, and asking that the use of their pulpit for half a day might be permitted to Mr. F., if convenient and agreeable to himself, to Dr. Nelson the senior minister, and to their Society. I was answered by Rev. Mr. Denison that, although he personally might be pleased to have slavery discussed *in a Christian way*, yet it would not be either convenient or agreeable to Dr. Nelson and the Society, or in accordance with the Society's votes and rules, to have Mr. Foss speak to them. What these rules and votes may be, I know not; but I know that agents of Societies for converting *foreign* heathen have easy and frequent access to that pulpit—agents, also, of those Bible and Tract Societies, which refuse to expend a dollar for the purpose of giving Bibles and tracts to three million degraded, ignorant, heathen slaves at home, and who derive their support in part from slaveholders and man-stealers, are also welcomed there, on the Sabbath too. When these professed Christian men and churches are called to answer, at a tribunal where there can be no priestly assumptions, no evasion, no sneers at the *infidelity* of Him who puts the question, 'Where is thy brother?'—what their reply will then be, it behoves them well now to consider.

Meanwhile I had applied to Rev. Mr. GIBSON, minister of the Wesleyan church, who freely consented to relinquish his pulpit half a day to Mr. Foss's use.

I have now to write that part of my story which, to myself personally, is the most sad and unwelcome, and which I tell only with sorrow. I had been myself, the minister of the Unitarian Society here for twelve years. I could not but feel a peculiar interest in its honorable and Christian standing. I had labored repeatedly and earnestly to have them take and hold a true and right-ous position in relation to the sin of American slavery. That position, though by no means what it should be, had reason to believe, till within the last year, was far in advance of that of any other religious society in the town. Anti-slavery discourses, of a strong and earnest sort, had been formerly preached to them by their ministers; yet, though some worldly-minded persons were driven away, and sought refuge from such preaching in the Orthodox church, and some timid ones were alarmed, yet the Society in the main held its ground firmly, and refused to have the padlock put upon their preacher's mouth. The use of their meeting-house had been repeatedly granted for anti-slavery purposes. Meetings in commemoration of West India Emancipation, meetings of the County Anti-Slavery Society, and lectures on the subject of slavery, both on Sundays and week-days, had been repeatedly held in it; and the use, though sometimes reluctantly granted, never had been refused, when asked for an anti-slavery object. Ms. Garrison, H. C. Wright, Wendell Phillips, Abby Kelley Foster, E. D. Hudson, Adin Ballou, Parker Pillsbury, and others had spoken there. Pardon me, Sir, for this particularity; but it is a satisfaction to me to recall these things now. When the answer came to my request that Rev. Mr. Foss might address the Unitarian Society one half-day, on the enslavement of three millions of our brethren, in our own country, to my surprise, and grief, and indignation, the reply was a refusal. I know not that I can add any thing to this statement, beyond a most sincere and heartfelt aspiration that they may speedily be ashamed, and repent of this narrow-minded and unchristian act. I owe it, however, to the Society, which still includes some of my most valued friends, to say, that the refusal was the act of the majority (not the whole) of their Committee; but, in the week which has elapsed, I have had no intimation that the Committee's act is repudiated by any of them. Their present minister, Rev. William Coe, I understood was entirely willing to accede to the request. But here the minister was overruled by the Committee; and, while professing the most liberal anti-slavery, consents to yield the point. So, by one or the other, anti-slavery is shut out, and kept out of those houses, which dare to pretend to be the house of that great, kind Father of us all, who cares alike for all his children, and of that pitying Savior, who came to seek and save those whom the world despised and rejected. May mercy be shown to them, as they show it to others.

One more application was made, viz., for the use of the Methodist meeting-house, in the village called Cherry Valley, two miles from the centre of the town. I was most agreeably surprised to learn that the request was granted, and for the forenoon of Sunday.

Accordingly, on Sunday forenoon, Mr. Foss preached in the Methodist house, to a congregation of over one hundred persons, the minister, Rev. Mr. OLDS, being present, and manifesting a liberal spirit. In the afternoon Mr. Foss preached at the Wesleyan house, to a public congregation; and, in the evening, he spoke again in the same house, for about two hours, to a very good audience, the junior pastor of the Orthodox church, and several members thereof, coming from a meeting of their own, which had been obligingly appointed at a somewhat earlier than the accustomed hour, to attend. In these several discourses—all of which I had the pleasure of hearing—Mr. Foss presented many of the principal topics of the anti-slavery cause in a very lucid, able, and interesting manner. He showed the demoralising and *heathenising* influences of slavery, both upon slave and master; he showed how utterly impossible it is for *the gospel* ever to be preached on our slave plantations, and he proved the wretched character of that counterfeit gospel now preached to many of the slaves. He adduced the testimonies of men eminent in the churches, to prove the sinfulness of those churches with regard to their brethren in bonds. He vindicated the anti-slavery movement from the absurd charge of *infidelity*, first made by designing and corrupt men, and then believed by ignorant and credulous ones. Mr. Foss's address is quite pleasing, and, wherever once heard, he will certainly find many who will be glad to hear him again. I should add, that the Wesleyan house was opened and lighted, in the evening, free from any expense to the lecturer or the cause, and the minister joined very cordially in the services with Mr. F.

Perhaps I should say, that I did not apply to the Episcopal church here to grant Mr. Foss an opportunity to speak therein. But it is generally understood that all such applications would be entirely useless.

I say, with Mrs. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, 'If Christ has a cause, it is this of anti-slavery!' He will not forsake that cause, but, spite of the opposition of those wolves in sheep's clothing who have always been arrayed against him, he will yet bring it to a glorious triumph.

I am, most truly,
Yours, SAMUEL MAY, JR.

A LECTURING TOUR IN RHODE ISLAND.

FRIEND GARRISON:

Rhode Island is the manufacturing State. A larger capital and more workmen are employed in this business, in proportion to the wealth and population of the State, than in any other State of the Union. There is no Lowell in Rhode Island, but the whole State is interested in cotton and woollen factories. Just now, the manufacturing interests are 'looking up,' business is brisk, the demand for goods is active, and therefore every nerve is strained to make money while the propitious hour passes. In that portion of the State in which I have been lecturing of late, the operatives work from thirteen to fourteen hours per day, except on Saturday. Their day's work terminates at 7 o'clock in the evening; then supper is to be eaten. They are weary from the influence of protracted toil, and in no condition to seek intellectual and moral culture; therefore it is not to be expected that they will attend, very generally, the anti-slavery meetings. But they must have some change—some recreation. This is sought and found in indulgences which administer temporary pleasure to appetite and passion, both leaving a sting behind. The factory system, and indeed the present arrangements of society, by which labor is secured and recompensed, are not founded on love and good-will. They are selfish and wrong. Great and alarming abuses spring up therein, and flourish in a genial soil. I think the anti-slavery lecturer will agree with me in saying, that the manufacturing districts are the least open of all places to the radical reforms of Christianity. And now success in business makes the work of reform harder still. When men make money fast, they seem to plunge into it with no reserve of mind or conscience for other and infinitely higher interests. So the nation hardens itself in its hour of mutual prosperity. The influence of present worldly success I have found potent in keeping many from the anti-slavery work. At Woonsocket, where I lectured first on this Rhode Island tour, I saw nothing and heard nothing of the wealthy manufacturer residing in W., and who is one of the chief leaders of the Rhode Island Free Democracy. He gave no aid to an effort which was made to plant anti-slavery in a hard soil, though professing to be much interested in all such enterprises. I know not the cause of this, but feel sure that an obvious and most important duty was left undone in this case.

At our meeting in Woonsocket, the attendance was small, and yet there are a few in that place who are deeply interested in the anti-slavery cause. When I was there last summer, I obtained three subscribers for THE LIBERATOR. I was gratified to learn, on this visit, that the paper is prized by these new friends. One young man, who is struggling on in life against many difficulties, came to me after the meeting, and spoke very earnestly of his interest in THE LIBERATOR. He took it of me last summer, under a strong impression that he should not like it. He had supposed that it was harsh, dogmatic, illiberal and uncandid. But after reading your paper six months, he thinks it the best paper, the freest and ablest he has ever read. Now he feels that he could not do without it. This little circumstance very much delighted and encouraged me, as I hope it may also yourself.

On my journey to Mapleville, I *sensed* the difference between the iron horse and a horse of flesh and bones. Railroads are truly indispensable to the lecturer. At Mapleville, I spoke two evenings in the school-house. Our meetings were small. A year since, Lucy Stone spoke there, and had *full* houses. She excited a wide and deep interest, and secured several subscribers for THE LIBERATOR. One man, who took the paper at that time, finally made up his mind to vote for Scott, as in his opinion a smaller devil than Pierce. So doing, he los his interest in THE LIBERATOR, and stopped the paper. I labored faithfully to get some subscribers for your paper there, but did not succeed. I met some real, generous friends, however, in going round, whose sympathy made me very glad and strong. I found a precious home with a family into which THE LIBERATOR has come for some twenty years. There I had rest and joy for the wearying out-door toils.

I held three meetings at Pascoag, a place where much anti-slavery work has been performed in years gone by,—work, too, which has not been in vain. Yet the outlook of Pascoag is not particularly bright. The Free Will Baptist clergyman there has done some very noble things, such as inviting Lucy Stone, Samuel May, Jr., and other Garrison abolitionists, to speak in his pulpit at the time of the regular Sunday service. He was absent at the time of my visit, which was unfortunate for me. I should have enjoyed much greater facilities for speaking to the people, had he been at home. Yet I spoke in his church Sunday evening, and in his vestry on Monday evening. I succeeded in Pascoag in obtaining two subscribers for THE LIBERATOR, by the aid of the friend to whom I was directed, and whose house is freely open for the anti-slavery reformer. At Pascoag, the contributions paid travelling expenses and hall-hire,—a pecuniary success not attained in Woonsocket or Mapleville.

My next appointment was left discretionary with me. I went to Greenville—a place given up in times past to Hunkerism and Rum. A brighter day seems to be dawning; and if the people of Rhode Island sanction the new temperance law, and if Judge Curtis can be induced to allow of its enforcement, good things are doubtless in store for Greenville. I spoke there twice in the Free Will Baptist Church, and had interesting meetings, particularly the last evening. At Greenville, also, contributions paid my personal expenses, and the house was opened without charge.

From Greenville, I passed to North Scituate, where I held two meetings in the Tabernacle,—a house erected to accommodate the Second Adventists, a few years since. Mr. Grover spoke in Scituate about a year since. in the Seminary Hall and in the Congregational church I heard a most favorable report of his meetings from an anti-slavery friend who heard him. My meetings were small, owing very much to the late hours kept in the factories, in which they worked, when I was there, til a quarter past eight o'clock. The expense for the Tabernacle and other expenses, considerably exceeded our contributions; yet I rejoice that I went to Scituate. The second meeting excited an interest in one earnest man, who is seeking for truth, so that he subscribed for THE LIBERATOR. So I feel that my efforts there were not in vain, although but few came to hear the Gospel of Liberty.

My meetings on this tour ended with the service held in the Free Hall at Valley Falls. As soon as I entered upon my labors there, I found that I was in a genial, sympathizing atmosphere, created by previous efforts bestowed upon Valley Falls. These efforts have made an abiding impression there. On Saturday evening, I proposed the formation of a club of five subscribers to THE LIBERATOR, and three volunteered to make up the number. The next day, by the kind assistance of friends, the remaining two were secured. So I bring you five new subscribers from Valley Falls. At these meetings, the contributions exceeded expenses—a piece of good fortune which has not attended me in any other effort of this course. I expected to speak on Sunday evening in the Congregational church at Central Falls, the pastor of which, an old friend and a professed abolitionist, had given me encouragement to expect a hearing; but he decided otherwise, and I am deprived of a coveted opportunity of commending the manliness and independence of one of the *professed* anti-slavery clergymen.

At Valley Falls, I found a true home in a family which THE LIBERATOR has visited regularly for eighteen years; and where your paper has a home, there is welcome and cheer for the radical reformer.

So ends another anti-slavery tour, and a brief hour of sweetest rest comes, ere toil again commences in the great vineyard of our holy work.

Yours fraternally, SAXON.

THE CONSTITUTION—POLITICAL ACTION.

MR. GARRISON—Wendell Phillips, in his reply to Mr. Mann, asks him and the Free Soilers certain questions. I wish to answer them, not as a defender of Mr. Mann or the Free Soil party, but simply as an individual who claims the right and upholds the duty of voting.

1st. Mr. P. asks, 'Do they (Mr. Mann and his friends) or do they not believe that the Constitution orders the return of fugitive slaves?' Mr. Mann must answer for himself. As an individual anti-slavery voter, I answer, that it seems to me there can be no shadow of doubt in any honest mind as to the meaning and intention of the provision in respect to 'persons held to service or labor.' It does mean slaves, and the Constitution does therefore provide for their rendition. The peculiar phraseology, and the omission of the word 'slave,' simply indicates that its framers were heartily ashamed of the recreancy to their own principles they showed in what they were doing.

But now, 2d. 'If they think the Constitution does so order, how do they justify themselves in swearing to support it?'

Do they *mean* to support this portion of it, so long as it remains, and till they can abolish it? I answer for myself, No! a thousand times, No! For one, I will trample it under foot everywhere and always. I will give the slave aid and comfort: I will resist his oppressor. A thousand Constitutions shall not make me recognize such an infamous provision as law.

But will you then swear to support it? I will swear to support the Constitution so far as it is Law; but this would be no Law, if it were in a thousand Constitutions. Mr. P. is a lawyer, and knows better than I do where to look for the great legal authorities who say that that law of man's making, which contravenes the Law of God, is therefore null and void—a truth written in the conscience of every man, if there were no legal authorities to give it utterance. As null and void I hold all such parts of the Constitution, and therefore in swearing to support it, I take no oath to support them.

But—'A promise is binding in that sense in which the promisor knows the promisee understands it.' No promisee can bind me to a promise interpreted in an unholy, unrighteous and altogether wicked sense, for no such promise is binding. I do wish and desire to support the Constitution of the United States so far as it accords with Justice and Right, and so far, with all my heart, I will swear to support it. But is the burden of the children of those parts that are not in such accordance laid upon me? Must I, before I vote, address a circular letter to all slaveholders, to the purport that, in swearing to support the organic law of my country, I do not intend to support certain infamous and wicked provisions foisted into it through the brow-beating insolence of their ancestors on the one hand, and the short-sighted and cowardly timidity of mine on the other? I do not see such necessity. To say that there are slaveholding provisions in the Constitution, is one thing—to say that it is a slaveholding instrument, is quite another. I believe in the one statement, but not in the other. The Constitution was intended, in the main, by its framers, to promote liberty, those clauses to the contrary notwithstanding. In the main, its pro-slavery clauses excepted, it is good enough to live under, and had better not be abolished, if we can help it. That this impudent handful of slaveholders have thus far taken it and perverted it to their infamous purposes, has happened only through our sufferance; too often with our base and mercenary connivance. But it need not be so, if we will will it otherwise; and it seems to me it is conceding quite too much to their bluster for us to disfranchise and make aliens of ourselves on their account.

What is the position of men born under a system of laws which they did not help to make?—for this, even in these days of Constitution-making, is the position of the citizens of even the freest States, and must always be. Does it impose upon all conscientious persons the necessity of disfranchising themselves whenever they see something unrighteous in their laws? This is virtually the position which Mr. Phillips takes, and one which, if fully carried out, will leave all good men disfranchised till the millennium. I believe far otherwise. I believe that every man—yes, and every woman—has an inalienable right to a share in the government of the country in which he lives. Society is not an arbitrary thing of man's making, but God has made us, by our nature, social beings, and this implies that there are laws in the nature of things by which this society is to be regulated. This is all that gives a sanction to human laws. So far as they embody these divine laws in accordance with which God has made us social beings, so far it is a religious duty, not only to obey them, (which is the usual statement,) but actively to take a part as a member of society in framing and administering them. By deserting this duty, we give it over into the hands of hunkers and scoundrels; and this is a proved result of Mr. P's doctrine, and nowhere more to be deplored than in his own individual case. What good man would not rejoice to see Mr. P. himself in his proper place—a seat in the U. S. Senate—and if my argument is correct, what should hinder him from going there? It seems to me he will not do his whole duty till he and such as he put themselves at the head of a party, which, working for principle and not for place, and taking the ground that the pro-slavery provisions of the Constitution are *ipso facto* null and void, shall take an active part in the politics of the country. To this platform the Free Soil party must come, or it will go the way of the Liberty party before it. So far as respects voting for men who will support the slaveholding clauses, Mr. Phillips has convicted me of error, and I do not mean they shall have my vote again; for their oath would bind me to what I will never swear to. I shall vote hereafter for Mr. Phillips himself, and I do not believe that I shall long form the whole of his party.

W. P. A.

☞ Oliver Johnson, in the last number of the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, gives his valedictory (which we have in type) as the editor of that paper, having accepted the unanimous invitation of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to be Associate Editor of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*—an arrangement which will give very general satisfaction. Cyrus M. Burleigh will succeed Mr. Johnson as editor of the *Freeman*—an excellent substitute.

COUNT STRUENZEE, *the Skeptic and the Christian.* Translated from the French of the German, by Mrs. J. H. Wilson. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 16mo. p.p. 248.

This little volume contains the somewhat celebrated conversations between Bathazar Munter, a Christian minister, and Count Struenzee, the deposed Prime Minister of Denmark. The Count was suddenly and treacherously deprived of his high station in January, 1772, and remained in close confinement until his execution the following April. He had previously been known and acknowledged as a skeptic, and also a man of great abilities. The Pastor, Munter, obtained permission to visit him in prison, and conversed with him on the subject of religion; and before his execution, the Count acknowledged himself, both openly and in secret, as a believer in the Christian faith. The conversations by which this result was accomplished are given in this volume. They were originally published in German, soon after the time of their occurrence; and so great was the avidity with which they were sought, that, almost immediately, they spread over the Continent, in the form of translations into nearly every language of Europe.

☞ MISS WESTON regrets that in the report of the recent A. S. Bazaar, the names of the following towns from whence donations were received were omitted:—West Roxbury, Leominster and Leicester, all of Massachusetts.

☞ We regret that we are again obliged to defer the publication of a 'Call for a General Religious Conference, with a view to the establishment of a Yearly Meeting in Pennsylvania.'

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

Mazzini, from his place of concealment, publishes a letter, taking the responsibility of the London Committee's manifesto, and stating that the address to the Hungarians in Italy was written by Kossuth at Mazzini's request, during Kossuth's sojourn at Kutayah, and was never afterwards retracted. Mazzini says Kossuth, who fully knows how a single rash act or betraying act of a single man can sometimes defeat the best scheme, and compel a whole party to adjourn the fulfilment of their most sacred hopes, ought to be the last to throw a stone before due time has elapsed, at well-meaning and determined, though momentarily conquered friends.

Kossuth has addressed a letter to Capt. Mayne Reid, saying that his proclamation was garbled, and that Mazzini and Kossuth are still sworn friends.

The Morning Advertiser announces that the Duchess of Sutherland places Stafford House at the disposal of Mrs. Stowe to give receptions in, and that the Earls of Shaftesbury, Carlisle, etc., will meet her at Liverpool; and an address with 40,000 women's signatures will arrive by the next steamship.

Dr. Overing, the African traveler, is dead.

Eight members of Parliament are unseated for bribery.

A vessel has arrived from Melbourne with nearly £1,000,000 in gold.

The Pope's journey to Paris is confidently looked for. His Holiness will stay in France two months, at Compeigne.

M. Bushbeck had had audience with the Emperor, who assured him that the imperial manufactories should be worthily represented at the New York Exhibition.

The principal families in Vienna have agreed not to invite Englishmen or their families to their homes. This is in retaliation for England sheltering Mazzini and Kossuth.

The Hungarian conspiracy recently discovered among the prisoners in Comorn, had ramifications at Pesth. The plan was to set fire to the fortress, and in the confusion the Provost was to liberate the prisoners, while the allies outside seized the arsenal. The Provost was hanged on the discovery of the plot.

Unusual symptoms of fermentation were observable throughout Hungary. Many arrests had taken place at Prague.

Some arrests are yet taking place at Milan. The church bells are still mute, and all the bellfries are guarded.

Spain.—General Rodil is dead, and was buried with the usual honors.

HAVANA, March 17.

On the 25th of February, five hundred negroes were attempted to be landed at 'Cayo Verde,' between Cardenas and Sagara. In going in, the Slaver struck a rock, and they only saved one hundred and ninety Africans. The balance were seized by other parties, and they still retain them for saving them. A part have been brought to Havana, and are being offered for sale by the agents of Pancho Marty.

Curious Case of Fraud.—A singular case of alleged kidnapping was under examination at Hamilton, Canada, at last accounts. A very respectable looking young man, named Harvey Smith, was brought before Messrs. Winer & Ryckman, charged with having induced two young colored men to sell themselves into slavery, by telling them that he would divide the proceeds of the sale equally among them, and insure their return to Canada by stealing them from their purchasers. The parties' names are Adley and Bacchus, one of whom has been in the employment of the defendant's brother. Informations were laid against the prisoner by a young colored man named Charles Webbe, who swore that Mr. Smith had made the proposal mentioned above also to him, but that he declined accepting it. This witness also stated that Adley and Bacchus had told him that they were going to the South, and that the last time he saw them was on the beach, apparently on their way to Buffalo. The examination had elicited no additional facts of importance when the Court adjourned. Much excitement against the prisoner existed among the colored population, and a breach of the peace was feared.

Extensive Kidnapping.—By a friend who arrived this morning from Mobile, we learn that two white men, named Mabley and Long, have been arrested there on a charge of forcibly carrying off free persons of color from this State, and attempting to sell them. Eight colored persons, of French extraction, named Frozine, Madeline, Sally, Ozenne, Julia, Hyppolite, Adela and Eudora, were taken up with them, and are now in prison. These colored persons say that they are free. They refer to Messrs. Francois le Beau, Severin Passe, Gustave and Arnauld Grenin, Major, Theozende Leme, Hyppolite Deveron and Charles Poydras, of Ponte Coupee, planters, for the truth of their statement. The white men are also accused of having sold five kidnapped colored persons in this city for Texas.—*New Orleans Picayune.*

Criminal Inhumanity.—One of the most horrible cases of selfish recklessness on the part of shippers that we ever met with, has occurred on board of the small brig Zebra, of 199 tons, which was chartered to carry out a large number of colored emigrants from New Orleans to Liberia. She cleared January 1, having 131 passengers, and a crew of nine persons. The vessel was in a most filthy condition, the fixtures for berths were made of green lumber, and the water was put up in oil casks. In consequence, the cholera broke out in a few days, and on the 17th the vessel put into Savannah in distress, having lost the captain and mate, two seamen, and 33 passengers. As soon as the emigrants were supplied with pure water, the disease abated. We do not know who is answerable for this atrocious cruelty. The people were kindly cared for at Savannah. The whole number of persons dispatched to Africa in 1852, as we learn from the *Colonization Herald*, was 666.—*Era.*

Ejecting a Colored Passenger from a Stage. In the City Court yesterday, a stage driver named James Coffee, of the Brooklyn and Greenpoint line of stages, was tried and convicted on an indictment of assault and battery upon a colored woman. It seems that the complainant beckoned the driver on the route to stop, which he did, and she entered, there being two other passengers in at the time. Whether or no they made objections to sitting in the vehicle with her did not appear in the evidence. At all events, it was shown that, after the driver had proceeded some distance, he discovered his new passenger's color, and stopping his horses, ordered her out. Being either too slow in her movements, or else refusing to leave her seat, the driver seized and pulled her out, and she fell down in the street. For this a complaint was lodged against the driver, and he was indicted and convicted of assault and battery.—*Brooklyn Advertiser, 26th ult.*

Murderous Assault.—On Wednesday evening, a party of colored people, returning from a religious meeting in the vicinity of Flatbush, were attacked by two men, named James Welsh and Patrick McGuire, and badly beaten. The colored men were walking along quietly at the time, having done nothing whatever to provoke an assault. One of them, named Cato Oliver, who endeavored to defend himself, was stabbed in the breast with a knife, the effects of which may prove fatal. The accused were brought before Justice King yesterday, but the examination was deferred until the extent of Oliver's injuries can be ascertained. In the meantime they remain in close custody.—*N. Y. paper.*

☞ Captain Hinckles, of the schooner Rachel P. Brown, lately brought into Norfolk on suspicion of being a slaver, has been, in default of bail, committed for trial.

Notices of Meetings, &c.

☞ REV. ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture in

Southbridge,	Friday eve'g,	March	25.
Sutton,	Sunday	"	27.
Northbridge,	Tuesday "	"	29.
Uxbridge,	Wednesday"	"	30.
East Douglass,	Thursday "	"	31.
Millville	Saturday "	April	2.
Blackstone	Sunday,	"	3.
Mendon	Tuesday eve'g	"	5.
Milford	Wednes'y "	"	6.
Upton	Thursday "	"	7.
Holliston	Friday "	"	8.
Hopkinton	Sunday "	"	10.

☞ NOTICE. A meeting of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society will be held at Manchester, on Saturday evening and Sunday, through the day and evening, March 26 and 27, agreeably to adjournment.

☞ This meeting will be attended by PARKER PILLSBURY and DANIEL FOSTER.

C. L. REMOND, *President.*
JOSEPH MERRILL, *Sec'ry.*

☞ PARKER PILLSBURY, an Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will speak in

Raynham	Friday,	March	25.
Manchester	Sunday,	"	27.
Lowell	Sunday,	April	3.
Middleboro'	Tuesday,	"	5.
Carver	Thursday,	"	7.
Plymouth	Sunday,	"	10.

DANIEL FOSTER, an Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will speak in

Westminster,	Friday eve'g,		March	25.
Manchester,	Sat. "	and Sun.,	"	26 & 27.
Andover,	Weln, "		"	30.
North Andover,	Thurs. "		"	31
Reading,	Friday "		April	1.
Lowell,	Sunday "		"	3.
Weymouth,	Tuesday, "		"	5.
Quincy,	Wednes'y "		"	6.
Port Norfolk,	Thursday "		"	7.

☞ OLD COLONY A. S. SOCIETY. A quarterly meeting of this Society will be held in CARVER, on the day of the annual Fast in April, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M., and continuing through the day. We hope our friends throughout the country will so arrange matters as to be present. Let the occasion be one of interest. The meeting will be addressed by PARKER PILLSBURY and others.

BOURNE SPOONER, *President.*
H. H. BRIGHAM, *Sec'ry.*

☞ NORFOLK COUNTY. The annual meeting of the *Norfolk County Anti-Slavery Society* will be held on THURSDAY, April 7th, (the day of the Annual Fast,) at PORT NORFOLK.

Further particulars next week.

EDMUND QUINCY, *President.*
WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH, *Sec'ry.*

☞ SALLIE HOLLEY, an Agent of the Mass. A. S. Society, will lecture as follows:—

Bridgewater, Joppa village,	Sunday eve'g,	Mar. 27.
" Paper mill village,	Tuesday "	" 29.
Abington, (Town Hall,)	Sunday,	" April 3.

☞ LECTURES ON ENGLISH AND AMERICAN PRISONS, &c. CHARLES SPEAR will speak in the Universalist church in Hyannis, next Sabbath, on the above subject, and in relation to the proper treatment of offenders generally.

NOTICE.

Letters and papers intended for Henry C. Wright may, for the present, be addressed to him at Boston, Anti-Slavery Office, 21 Cornhill.

☞ LUCY STONE'S P. O. address is, for the present, at 21 Cornhill.

☞ WANTED, at the Anti-Slavery Office—The Annual Report of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society for 1850. Several copies are wanted, for which a fair price will be paid. Will our readers confer the favor of ascertaining, as soon as may be, if they can aid us in this respect?

MARRIED—In Danvers, March 3d, by the Rev. Mr. Appleton, Mr. DAVID S. OSBORNE, of Detroit, Mich., to Miss LUCY A. COLBY, [the accomplished poetess,] of Danvers.

DIED—In Boston, March 16th, LOUISA LAURA, daughter of BENJAMIN F. and FRANCES NELL CLEGGETT, aged one year.

This bereavement occurred during its mother's visit to her native city, and while anticipating a return with the child to its father.

A year passed by, and at the eventide,
A little child lay quietly, and slept.
* * * * * * *
Parents! in former times, the first-born son
Was pledged unto the Lord; and will ye now
Murmur because Jehovah claims his own,
And sets his seal upon your daughter's brow?
He gave—He took—He surely will restore—
'He doeth all things well.'

In Northampton, on Thursday, 17th instant, Mrs. ANNA PAUL, widow of the late Rev. NATHANIEL PAUL, of Albany, aged 62. [An obituary notice is unavoidably deferred till next week.]

In Weymouth, on the evening of Monday, March 14th, LYDIA MARIA, wife of WILLIAM H. CHIPMAN, and daughter of ELIAS RICHARDS, aged 25 years.

Young, beautiful and amiable, gifted with all those qualities that bless and adorn domestic life, 'happy and giving happiness,' not unmindful in her own joys of the poor, the sorrowing and the oppressed, thus early, and to our imperfect human vision thus prematurely, has she been withdrawn from the husband and child, parents and sisters, to whom she might have been esteemed so essential, and of whose happiness she made so large a part.

But our belief in the Divine compassion,
'The Mercy carried infinite degrees
Beyond the tenderness of human hearts,'

assures us that the *now* and *thus* were for her the best time and way.

We cannot express our sentiments, in view of this bereavement, better than in the following exquisite lines from Mrs. Hemans:—

We miss thy voice while early flowers are blooming,
And the first flush of blossom clothes each bough,
And the spring sunshine round our home is glowing,
Soft as thy smile—thou shouldst be with us now!

With us!—we wrong thee by the earthly thought!
Could our fond gaze but follow where thou art,
Well might the glories of this world seem nought
To the one promise given the pure in heart.

Yet wert thou blest e'en here—O! ever blest
In thine own sunny thoughts and tranquil faith;
The silent joy that still o'erflowed thy breast
Needed but guarding from all change by death.

So is it sealed to peace! On thy clear brow,
Never was care one fleeting shade to cast,
And thy calm days in brightness were to flow,
A holy stream, untroubled to the last.

DEATH OF MOSES WHITSON.—It is some two or three weeks since we casually heard of this saddening event, but as our acquaintance with the deceased was too slight to qualify us to write such an obituary as seemed to be due to his worth, we naturally waited for a notice from the pen of some one acquainted with the circumstances attending his death, and whose intimacy with him would enable him to speak in appropriate terms of his life and character. But we have waited thus far in vain. We do not know his age nor the date of his decease, but we do know that he was a man of sterling worth, a devoted friend of the slave and of universal humanity, and that his loss will be deeply felt, not only by his bereaved family, but by the neighborhood in which he resided, and by abolitionists generally. No fear of being denounced as a traitor, or of having his property wrested from him by iniquitous laws, ever deterred him from giving shelter and a warm God-speed to the fugitive.—*Pennsylvania Freeman.*

JUST PUBLISHED,

AND FOR SALE AT THE ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL,

THE Speech of WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., delivered at the last annual meeting of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, in vindication of the Anti-Slavery Movement. Price 6 cents. Also,

Also, the Twenty-First Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, from the pen of EDMUND QUINCY, Esq. Price 37½ cents.

A Discourse occasioned by the death of DANIEL WEBSTER, preached at the Melodeon on Sunday, Oct. 3 1 1852, by Rev. THEODORE PARKER. This Discourse has been much enlarged, and occupies 116 pages. Price 37½ cents.

NEW BOOKS,
OF RARE INTEREST AND VALUE,
JUST PUBLISHED BY
JOHN P. JEWETT & COMPANY,
BOSTON.

OWING to the unparalleled draft upon our resources, during the past year, on account of the unexampled sale of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a large number of most valuable manuscripts were obliged to lie untouched in our safe, waiting a favorable moment to appear in print. We have availed ourselves of the earliest moment, and now offer them to the *readers of good books*. Most of them are issued. Those still in press will be published speedily.

THE SHADY SIDE;
OR, LIFE IN A COUNTRY PARSONAGE,
BY A PASTOR'S WIFE.

This volume is designed, in a measure, as a contrast to that charming little book, *Sunny Side*, and we doubt not that it will meet with quite as favorable a reception as that work. It is written in an admirable style, and he who commences its perusal will hardly be able to stop until he has gone through. Price 75 cts.

Count Struenzee the Skeptic, and
THE CHRISTIAN.
TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY MRS. WILSON.

This most interesting work contains the history of the last days of this distinguished man, and the account of his numerous interviews and conversations with his pastor, Muntor, through whose instrumentality he was led to abandon his skepticism, and embrace the religion of Jesus. Price 62 1-2 cts.

THE LAST HOURS OF CHRIST,
BY W. G. SCHAUFFLER,
Missionary at Constantinople.

A portion of this most admirably written volume of Meditations on the last hours of our Savior upon earth, was published some years since, and met with great favor from the religious public. The work has been rewritten, and very much enlarged, and is again offered to the community. We would not say a word in its commendation to those who have read the volume as originally published. To those who love to go with the Redeemer of men, to meditate in the garden of Gethsemane, or upon the mount of Olives, or by the sea of Galilee, this volume will afford a vein of sacred thought. Price $1 00.

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POETRY.

From an English paper.

ON THE STATUE OF EBENEZER ELLIOTT, BY NEVILLE BURNARD.

ORDERED BY THE WORKING-MEN OF SHEFFIELD.

Glory to those who give it! who erect
The bronze and marble, not where frothy tongue
Or bloody hand points out; no, but where God
Ordains the humble to walk forth before
The humble, and mount higher than the high.
Wisely, O Sheffield, wisely hast thou done
To place thy Elliott on the plinth of fame;
Wisely hast chosen for that solemn deed
One like himself, born where no mother's love
Wrapt purple round him, nor rang golden bells,
Pendant from Libyan coral, in his ear,
To catch a smile or calm a petulance,
Nor tickled downy scalp with Belgic lace;
But whom strong Genius took from Poverty,
And said, *Rise, mother, and behold thy child!*
She rose, and Pride rose with her, but was mute.
Three Elliotts there have been, three glorious men
Each in his generation. *One was doom'd*
By Despotism and Prelaty to pine
In the damp dungeon, and to die for Law,
*Rack'd by slow tortures ere he reach'd the grave.**
A second hurl'd his thunderbolt and flame
When Gaul and Spaniard moor'd their pinnaces,
Screaming defiance at Gibraltar's frown,
Until one moment more, and other screams
And other writhings rose above the wave,
From sails a-fire, and hissing where they fell,
And men half burnt along the buoyant mast.
A third came calmly on, and ask'd the rich
To give laborious hunger daily bread,
As they in childhood had been taught to pray
By God's own Son, and sometimes have prayed since.
God heard; but they heard not: God sent down bread;
They took it, kept it all, and cried for more,
Hollowing both hands to catch and clutch the crumbs.
I may not live to hear another voice,
Elliott, of power to penetrate, as thine,
Dense multitudes; another none may see
Leading the Muses from unthrifty shades
To fields where corn gladdens the heart of man,
And where the trumpet, with defiant blast,
Blows in the face of War, and yields to Peace.
Therefore take thou these leaves . . . fresh, firm, though scant,
To crown the city that crowns thee her son.
She must decay; Toledo hath decayed;
Ebro hath half forgotten what bright arms
Flash'd on his waters, what high dames adorn'd
The baldric, what torn flags o'erhung the aisle,
What parting gift the ransom'd knight exchanged.
But louder than the anvil rings the lyre;
And thine hath rais'd another city's wall
In solid strength to a proud eminence,
Which neither conqueror, crushing braver men,
Nor time, o'ercoming conqueror, can destroy.
So now, ennobled by thy birth, to thee
She lifts with pious love the thoughtful stone.
Genius is tired in search of Gratitude;
Here they have met; may neither say farewell!

WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR.

* See Forster's 'Statesmen of the Commonwealth.'

From Frederick Douglass's Paper.

TO MR. FILLMORE,

ON HIS RETIRING FROM THE PRESIDENCY.

Oh, Mr. Millard Fillmore!
Your hour of pride is past;
The string is broken of your kite,
And down it comes at last.
Your accidental honors
Are like a vision fled;
The nation saw your lack of brains,
And got another head!

Oh, wondrous Mr. Fillmore!
You're ranked among the great;
The reason doubtless is, you weigh
About two hundred weight.
This sort of greatness ought to be
A caution, I should think;
Because the greater some folks are,
The sooner will they sink.

Oh, patriotic Fillmore!
Should History of you tell,
She'll say you loved your country,
'Not wisely, but too well.'
A hundred thousand men-thieves
To you appeared as good
As twenty million honest folks
Who earn their livelihood.

Oh, pious Mr. Fillmore!
You doubtless sing and pray;
You read your Bible, go to church,
And keep the Sabbath-day.
And yet you aid in catching slaves,*
(Oppression's hateful tool!)
And punish men, by fine and jail,
Who keep the Golden Rule.

Oh, hopeful Mr. Fillmore!
I sometimes wonder how
Your children's sons will think of you,
Say fifty years from now.
Dear Filly, we should ne'er forget
That Truth alone endures;
And Cain and Judas then may have
As good repute as yours.

Oh, Mr. Millard Fillmore!
Your native Empire State
Will doubtless think a deal of you,
So pious, good and great.
Fair Gotham's streets and Erin's shore
Will not forget your name,
And all the Jerry Rescuers
Shall help you on to fame.

March, 1853. Q.

* Fillmore signed the Fugitive Slave Act, Sept., 1850.

From the Carpet Bag.

OUR ELLEN.

Ellen, Ellen, there's no telling
Half our love for thee, dear girl,
Features merry, lips like cherry,
Sunny eye, and glossy curl.

Ever singing, sweet voice ringing,
Like a bird, or like a bell,
Never weary, ever cheery,
Ever striving to excel.

Late or early, never surly,
Never fretting, seldom sad,
Thy appearing always cheering,
Making every body glad.

Youth possessing, and each blessing
Which the genial age imparts,
Still bewitching, dancing, stitching,
Ever reigning queen of hearts.

Never moody,—parlor, study,
Kitchen, laundry, all as one,—
Chicken feeding, playing, reading,
Ever seasoning work with fun.

Cunning talker, agile walker,
Bounding like a deer at play,
Onward tripping, overtipping
Those who would oppose thy way.

Features merry, lips like cherry,
Laughing eye and sunny curl,
Ah, dear Ellen, there's no telling
Half our love for thee, dear girl.

THE LIBERATOR.

THE BIBLE QUESTION.

REPLY OF ELIZABETH WILSON TO J. BARKER.

[CONCLUDED.]

Had it not been that J. B. was highly favored in regard to the recuperative powers of nature, his Bible-believing would have been his utter destruction. He says, 'My subjection to Bible authority would, so far as I can judge, have utterly ruined me, if my mind had not been so constructed and disposed as to lead me to dwell almost wholly on the better parts of the Bible, and give its words and interpretations more in harmony with my own best thoughts and feelings, than with the sentiments and intentions of its authors.'

When J. B. thus acted, he acted in accordance with Scripture precepts, to put the best construction on people's 'sentiments and intentions' that they would bear. 'Charity hopeth all things, charity thinketh no evil.' Judging from J. B's writings, his *worst* feelings are *now* his 'interpreters.' He loves to magnify the shortcomings, sins and imperfections of Scripture characters; he searches for iniquity, he 'makes a man an offender for a word.' Is this one of the 'many particulars in which he is made a happier and a better man'? He is incessantly charging the patriarchs with being liars. And what is the evidence? Abraham and Isaac, in paroxysms of terror, in fear of their lives, both prevaricated, or, if B. please, told lies. Now, one untruth, or two untruths, do not establish a man's character as a liar, particularly if he was under strong temptation to lie; though it is by no means to be justified. It shows they were like ourselves, *not perfect*. Scripture does not claim perfection for human nature in its fallen condition. Jacob also dissembled, partly from obedience to his mother, and partly from an anxiety to obtain the patriarchal benediction. But neither Abraham, Isaac, nor Jacob, is entitled to the character of a liar, neither will they receive that character from any but those whom the Scriptures denominate scorners, who watch for iniquity, and make a man an offender for a word. Isaiah 29: 20, 21. The adultery of the patriarchs is another favorite topic with J. B. His writings are generally embellished with allusions to their concubines, not couched in the most delicate language. B. is perhaps not aware that the Americans are a very fastidious people in respect to the delicacy of language; they are a contrast in this respect to the eastern countries, where the Scriptures were written. We would advise him to leave that aspect of the question to some other writer or writers, who have no claim to stand pre-eminent as *refined* and *accomplished* authors. There are other writers on his side of the question, and there is scarcely an article from their pens but that the subject of Old Testament concubinage stands out in bold relief. Abraham, in particular, is the special object of their vulgar attack. According to their arrogant dictation to God, they suppose he should look with fatherly affection and complacency on the whole human family, good and bad, with the exception of the patriarchs and the Jews. These writers are sufficient to enlighten the public mind on the fallibility of Bible characters; showing in some instances they practised the evil customs of the dark age in which they lived. There is no pressing necessity for J. B. to take up this aspect of the question, as it is not apprehended there is any imminent danger that polygamy will be adopted in our country. It has fallen prostrate before the refulgent light of Christianity. Let him take up the consideration of the moral and religious principles of the Bible, and show their corrupting tendency. Let him inform the community of the immorality inculcated by the prophets, and the 'errors or moral imperfections of Jesus,' which J. B. has discovered since 1848. He says, (*Liberator*, May 14,) that the Old Testament patriarchs might have been faithful to the light they had. What more would he ask? Notwithstanding the darkness of the age in when they lived, they were, in many things, examples to us.

The Jews were greatly in advance of their heathen neighbors, in their institutions and principles. This a prominent and reliable anti-Bible man (the Rev. Daniel Foster, *Liberator*, Nov. 14, 1851,) acknowledges. He says, 'Moses was a burning and a shining light, when judged in view of the darkness of his day. He founded institutions and established great principles which were far in advance of his age, which were to exert an important influence in securing human progress'; taking it for granted, that the Jewish institutions and principles were far in advance of their heathen neighbors in morality. If God had not held intercourse and communion with the patriarchs and the Jews, with whom would he have held communion in that day? The heathen were a great deal lower in their institutions and moral principles, who were in possession of J. B's present Bible, the book of Nature, without any admixture of pretended revelations to corrupt them. Did not their heathen neighbors practise polygamy, and do they not continue to practise it in that part of the world to this day? What chapter in the book of nature, unassisted by revelation, teaches that a man is to have but one wife at a time? Nature does point it out, *assisted* by revelation. Revelation informs us, that in the beginning God made man, male and female, and made but one man and one woman. And Christ's exposition of this historical truth is an effectual bar to polygamy in all Christian countries. Some book-of-nature men believe, that whatever propensities are implanted in their nature, it is a sure indication that they are to be gratified, and the dictates of their own understandings, the suggestions of their own affections, instincts and consciences say Amen.

J. B. says, 'It is obvious that Elizabeth Wilson views the French Revolution through a false medium.' You are mistaken, Joseph; we view it through the medium of some of its reliable historians. There are some copies of the history of the French Revolution that have even found their way to Cadiz. We think J. B. has read the history of the French Revolution through contracted spectacles, when he endeavors to convey the idea that there were but 'two thousand' people lost their lives during the reign of terror. His spectacles deceived him, perhaps; it was *two millions*, instead of 'two thousands.' The number of victims of the reign of terror, according to Allison, in 'the Tower of Nantes alone, exceeded thirty thousand; and the whole number put to death, men, women and children, was one million twenty-two thousand three hundred and fifty-one. In this enumeration are not comprehended the massacres at Versailles, at the Abbaye, the Carmalites, or other prisons, the victims of Glaciere, of Avignon, those shot at Toulon or Marseilles, or the persons slain in the town of Bedoin, the whole population of which perished.' [Thiers' History of the French Revolution, vol. iii., p. 106, third American edition.] And we reiterate the charge, that in the French Revolution, those in power *did* act like demons. Robespierre, one of its principal leaders, was a monster of cruelty. And it is said of one of its emissaries, Carrier, that 'he might have summoned hell to match his cruelty, without a demon venturing to answer his challenge.' [Scott's Life of Napoleon.] No doubt there were many abuses reformed, in consequence of the French Revolution; but was that done during the reign of terror, when the declared infidels and atheists were in power? The French Revolution is the only instance in which the open disavowal of the Bible has been tested in a national point of view, or to any important extent; and the result was appalling. The tiger was unchained in earnest; as Franklin said to Thomas Paine, when consulting him about the propriety of publishing his 'Age of Reason,' when in manuscript. Franklin dissuaded him from the publication in these emphatic words: 'I would advise you not to attempt UNCHAINING THE TIGER, but to burn this piece before it is seen by any other person,' and added, 'If men are so wicked with religion, what would they be without it?' [Franklin's Life by Key and Mielke, pp. 76, 77.] And the French revolutionists confirmed the truth of this saying.

J. B. very authoritatively demands our authority for saying that Voltaire, stung with remorse in his dying hour, fled to the Church of Rome for forgiveness, &c., and adds, 'There are many who believe them to be false. They look on them as the forgeries of Bible-believers. I must suspect them to be so myself, till I have unexceptionable evidence to the contrary.' We cannot take it hard that J. B. calls us liars. Poor man, we pity him. It is the effect of his skepticism. We would not be suprised to hear of him doubting his own existence, and the existence of his Creator, and becoming an atheist! We could give the articles of Voltaire's creed, which is the essence of Popery, and his confession to Rev. Father Capuchin. See the genuine letters between Capuchin and the Archbishop of Anneci; and for further authority, see General Biographical Dictionary, and Condorcet's Life of Voltaire. Voltaire died miserably. Dr. Frouchin, on being sent for, and arriving, found him in the greatest agonies, exclaiming in the utmost horror, 'I am abandoned of God and man!' 'I will give you half of what I am worth, (said he to his physician,) if you can give me six months of life!' The doctor answered, 'Sir, you cannot live six weeks!' He replied, 'Then I shall go to hell, and you will go with me!' Behold the redoubtable champion of infidelity, at the approach of the grim messenger! It is said Voltaire was a contemner of religion from the same cause that impels many others, 'the instincts of an overweening self-conceit.' [Introduction to M. A. Thiers' History of the French Revolution.] J. B. says, 'The Koran, the beliefs of the red Indians, &c. &c., comfort and support men in sorrow and affliction, and sustain them in the hour of death.' It seems from this, that they are all superior to infidelity, for it has failed to support its greatest heroes in the hour of death.

J. B. says, 'that Paine was a besotted man, his biographer denies.' The Encyclopædia Americana, in speaking of Thomas Paine, says he was habitually intemperate. A person speaking of him says, Paine's personal appearance told that he was a drunkard, his face carbuncled, and fiery as the setting sun, his eyes red and inflamed—from once being the companion of Jay, Washington and Hamilton, he was shunned by every good man; and even respectable free-thinkers crossed the street rather than be seen talking with him. The N. York-city hotels were closed against him, on account of his beastly drunkenness and dirty habits. He was vain, dogmatical, and overbearing in argument. He was twice married; the first wife died in less than one year from the effects of ill-usage; the second wife obtained a divorce from him in three years after they were married, for brutal treatment. [Recollections of Thos. Paine, by Grant Thorburn.] These are some specimens of the canonized saints of infidelity, who occupy the most exalted places in the Pantheon. It is said, (we will not vouch for its truth,) that Thomas Paine's birth-day is regularly celebrated in the city of New York. If the Bible is once demolished, Paine might be elected to fill the place of the ancient Bacchus.

J. B. says that our opinion is not correct that he (J. B.) is a man of war, but that the Bible says Jehovah is a man of war, and represents him as sending one part of his family to destroy other parts of his family—to destroy them utterly, both old and young, and to leave not one remaining. *I am for peace.*' We were not mistaken, Joseph, when we said you were a man of war. *Question to Joseph Barker*—You would kill one man to save your own life? *B.*—Yes. Five men? *B.*—Yes. Would you kill fifty men to save your own life? *B.*—Yes. Would you kill a thousand men to save your own life? Yes, said Barker. If I were God Almighty, I would destroy such a nation, and raise up a better. Now, J. B., did you not say this, or is it a 'forgery' of ours? If you deny it, we are prepared to prove it. How dare you to arraign God before your tribunal for the purpose of throwing odium on his word, because it represents him as commanding the children of Israel to cut off a wicked nation for its sins, when you arrogantly say, if you 'were God Almighty, you would destroy such a nation'? You are the first man, to our recollection, that we ever heard say what he would do, were he 'God Almighty.' You used a similar expression in your reply to us. 'It is arrogant presumption! How do you know what you would do, if you 'were God Almighty'? Can a finite being comprehend an infinite being?

We will now make a few remarks on some extracts from J. B's famous *Bugle* communication, which he so often refers to with so much self-complacency. We will not pass it unnoticed, since its author has now apprised us of its existence. He gives some passages of Scripture which appeared in the *Bugle* communication, which he professes to believe justify slaveholding. It is to be expected that the portions he has selected are those he considers the easiest convertible, by a play upon words, into a justification of slaveholding. So, J. B. has done his worst to make the Bible appear a pro-slavery document, in order to make it odious. To economise room, we will only cite book, chapter and verse, and refer the reader to the Bible for the passages. J. B. quotes Ex. 21: 1—8, to show that the Jews held their brethren in slavery for a limited time. There is nothing *like* slavery in any of those passages. It was no more than a seven years' contract for a person's services—the buying the wages paid in advance, as many foreigners have to do, to obtain a passage to our country. They contract to give their labor for a given time, for money advanced to procure their transmigration to the United States. And those who purchase this obligation are said to buy them. When the Jew's seven years' contract expired, (man or woman, Deut. 15: 12,) the person who received his services was to furnish him liberally, out of his flock, flour, and wine press, thus enabling him to commence business for himself—verse 14. As to a father selling his daughter, parents in the U. S. can dispose of their children's time and services when in a state of minority. The case alluded to, of a father selling his daughter, was in expectation that she would be espoused by her master, or one of his sons; if not thus espoused, she was to go out free—Ex. 21: 7—11. So much for the father, the first person, selling his daughter, the second person, a slave to a man, the third person, who is to become her master. Where people are informed on the anti-slavery question, a person at the present time would be sneered at to advance the 44th and 46th verses of the 25th chapter of Leviticus as a Bible proof for slavery. When taken in connection with the other parts of the chapter, as to the buying mentioned in the passage, it was no more, as we have seen in the case of the Jew, than the wages he had received in advance, or was to receive. Being their bondmen forever, that could not be; the person bought would not live forever. There is not one word said about the *children* of the bondmen being their servants. They are to buy of the strangers that sojourn among them; this is the source whence they were to receive this grade of servants. Forever, the scripture phrase, does not always mean endless duration; it is governed by the connection in which it stands. The jubilee, in this case, terminated the servitude, and if the person holding the obligation on the foreign servant died in the interim, the obligation he held descended to his children; thus their children held them as a possession forever, that was, to the Jubilee. It may be seen, by consulting the latter end of this chapter, from verse 47, that if a Jew sold himself to a stranger who sojourned among them, the Jew was to serve until the Jubilee, if not previously redeemed. A foreigner was not required to be more favorable to a Jew in his contracts, than was a Jew required to be to him.

It may be inquired, how we know all the foregoing regulations? We know them by Statute Law. The laws and institutions of the Jews were utterly repugnant to slavery. We gave J. B. the Jewish Fugitive Slave Law in our last communication. No slaveholding country would have such a statute. If a slave wanted to obtain his freedom, he had nothing to do but to escape to some other place in the land of Judea; and the Jewish statute said, 'Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which has escaped from his master unto thee,' Deut. xxiii. 15, 16. The fiftieth year, the great Jubilee trumpet was blown, 'proclaiming liberty throughout all the land, unto ALL the inhabitants thereof.' No mistake here. How sublime and heavenly were the tones of the Jubilee trumpet! How many immunities followed in its train! As far as release from service was concerned, the Jubilee was entirely for the benefit of the foreign servants. The Jewish servants were released every seven years. A contract to render services until the Jubilee, from whatever period in the intermediate space it commenced, under some circumstances might be an advantage, if their other liberties were secured, which was amply done in the law respecting escaping servants.

J. B. has failed to establish the truth of the discovery made respecting the patriarch Joseph's contracting with the Egyptians being spoken of in Scripture 'as an evidence of superior wisdom, as a proof of supernatural illumination.' In all J. B. has quoted from the Bible, there is not one word of approval of Joseph's conduct, respecting his contracting with the Egyptians. He is spoken of as a good man, and as a man pre-eminently gifted of God; but that does not prove that his conduct was extolled respecting his contract with the Egyptians. Nor does the Scripture, in connection with Joseph's history, condemn his conduct; nor does the Scripture stop to apply its principles to every deviation from its precepts; nevertheless, the Bible does condemn Joseph's conduct, and we pointed J. B. to the place. But he has jesuitically framed what he has quoted from us, purposely leaving out our Scripture references, which was our proof. Why did he not give the Scripture we pointed him to, if he is an honest seeker after truth? We will here give the Scripture referred to. It is recorded in the famous 25th chapter of Levit. 36th and 37th verses inclusive:—'And if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee, then thou shalt relieve him; yea, *though he be a stranger* or a *sojourner*; that he may live with thee. Thou shalt not give him thy *money* upon *usury*, nor lend him thy *victuals* for *increase*.' Now, here is Joseph's contract with the Egyptians, condemned by STATUTE LAW. But in no place in the Bible is it spoken of 'as an evidence of Joseph's superior wisdom, as a proof of his supernatural illumination,' as J. B. has represented.

J. B. is in the habit of insulting every one who crosses his path. He made very insulting remarks respecting Thomas Galbreath, whose letter appeared in THE LIBERATOR some time since, wishing the paper discontinued on account of anti-Bible communications which appeared in its columns, particularly those from the pen of J. B. We have no personal acquaintence with Mr. Galbreath whatever, but we thought, at the time, he expressed himself in his letter very mildly, and gentlemanly, and sensibly, and kindly towards Mr. Garrison, and said nothing to provoke an insult from J. B. We appreciate the motives from which Mr. Galbreath evidently acted; but we think he was wrong in discontinuing THE LIBERATOR, on account of its opening its columns to free discussion, it being an *independent* paper, and *not* the organ of any Society. We would by no means support a paper, if its columns were open to such articles as have occasionally appeared in THE LIBERATOR on the Bible question, if a reply was excluded. On the same principle, we would not support a paper, that would admit pro-slavery articles, and exclude the antidote. But where *both* sides of the question have an impartial hearing, column for column, we think such a paper should be doubly sustained.

There is no principle worth holding, which will not bear investigation. 'Error may be safely tolerated, when truth is left free to combat it.' Let Bible-believers avail themselves of the privilege of the open columns of THE LIBERATOR, (to the extent its editor sees proper,) and defend the Bible against false accusations. We do not believe J. B's prophecy, 'that a universal discussion of the notion of Bible-believers will be their downfall.' We would be glad to see the truth of this prophecy tested by 'universal discussion.' Our pretensions to qualifications are very limited; nevertheless, in the absence of abler advocates, we are not ashamed or afraid 'to show our opinion;' or to meet our antagonist with a sling and a stone, although he may be as amply panoplied as was a Goliath. His trust is in his armor; our trust is in the Lord of hosts, the God whose word J. B. impiously calumniates.

J. B. makes a sweeping charge of infidelity against the American Anti-Slavery Society, and all 'that helpeth with it and laboreth.' It is nothing strange that he slanders us, when he so grossly slanders the American Anti-Slavery Society, to which he expresses such an ardent friendship. He represents its 'supporters and members to be mostly infidels.' He says 'very few people in Europe have helped the cause for some time past, except such as you call infidels, and it is much the same in America.'

This communication is already too long, (as a redeeming feature, a considerable part of it is quoted from J. B.) but we hope we shall be permitted to make a few remarks on this topic, with which we will close. We cannot permit this slander on the American Anti-Slavery Society to go forth to the world uncontradicted, particularly as it comes from a *professed* friend. We call no person infidel but such as rejects Christianity, which is the principal meaning of that term in our language; we use the word in no invidious sense, but merely to convey our idea. Now, from what J. B. says, 'The members and supporters of the American Anti-Slavery Society are rejectors of Christianity, with very few exceptions.' We believe, we have never before seen so sweeping a charge of infidelity made against the American Anti-Slavety Society and its aiders and abettors; a charge which they utterly deny. There has appeared column after column in the journals devoted to the interests of the Society, pronouncing charges of infidelity made against the Sociecy, or its prominent members, to be foul slanders. There is no slander which they repel with more contemptuous severity than the charge of infidelity, which, they say, is generally fabricated and propagated by pro-slavery 'priests,' who are impelled to make those charges from malice, for the purpose of throwing odium on the Society to cripple its efforts; because they, and the churches with which they are connected, have been pungently rebuked by the Society and its prominent members, for acting inconsistently with Christian principles, fellowshipping slaveholders, and lending their aid every way in their power to prop up slavery, that hydra-headed monster of iniquity. The charge of infidelity against the Society and its connections, being so frequently and so solemnly and publicly pronounced, by themselves, to be a malicious, vile slander, how comes it that J. B. takes upon himself to reiterate this accusation, which lies like an incubus upon the efforts of the Society, and has been the means of preventing many from aiding it liberally, both in Europe and America, and also the means of many withdrawing their pecuniary aid, from vague reports of infidelity, thus circulated in the absence of reliable testimony?

On the contrary, the American Anti-Slavery Society claims to be a Bible-believing association, based on 'the truths of Divine revelation,' together with the Declaration of Independence, 'as upon the everlasting Rock.' Its organ, the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, is ably conducted, and gives evidence that it is not controlled by an infidel association. It assails no religious creed, further than the creed may assail the rights of the slave, or stands in the way of his emancipation.

At the anniversary meetings of the Society, where there are delegates from all its auxiliaries, the Bible is used in the Society as its text-book, as the best system of Human Rights extant, (we judge from their actions.) If they were a Society of infidels, as J. B more than insinuates, they would be likely to adopt some other system of Human Rights, say Paine's Rights of Man. No—they weigh slavery in the balance of the Bible standard. The President, Mr. Garrison, uniformly (we believe) makes it a rule, at the opening of the anniversary meetings, to read portions of the Bible from an English version in common use; such portions as will apply to the evils of slavery, of which he has a choice collection. There are no skeptical cavils raised by any of the members, as to the accuracy of the translation of the Bible. They know the Bible can be accurately translated, as well as are other books of every description, without the fiftieth part of the care that has been taken with the Bible. And there are important negociations carried on between countries of different languages, by means of translators or interpreters; and who doubts their purport? Nor do they raise skeptical cavils against the books of the Bible, because a 'council of priests' judged of their authenticity. Those books were considered the word of God long before those 'priests' were in existence. They judge of the Bible by its own intrinsic merit.

Mr. Garrison being the leading member in that association, we will give him as a specimen characteristict of the Society. (We hope Mr. Garrison will pardon us for the liberty we take with his name.) There is no man in the anti-slavery ranks, who makes more use of the Bible in anti-slavery discussions than does Mr. Garrison; and it is but faint praise to say, that he has more trophies of his anti-slavery triumphs, than any hundred men in the anti-slavery phalanx in the United States. He considers the Bible the most powerful and the most appropriate anti-slavery document in the world (we judge from his actions.) He has an abiding faith in its potency, and is supported by its consolations. He does not consider it an old, superannuated document, unsuitable in our advanced stage of progress and present attainments. He does not think that the fleshly tables of the heart are much improved, as to susceptibility of intellectual and moral impressions, as do some, and that the spirit of God has improved in capability in imparting these impressions. We will let Mr. Garrison speak for himself. We will give an extract from a letter which he wrote to a friend, about the time the Fugitive Slave Law was so fearfully agitating this nation. After giving many quotations from the Bible so applicable to that crisis, that it would be supposed the sacred writers had the United States of America specially in view, he says—'My dear friend, (Mr. McKim,) I find no language so apposite, so reliable, so descriptive, so consoling, in the present time, as that which I have quoted from a volume professedly held by this oppressive nation as the inspired word of God, while it disregards in the most daring manner all its admonitions, warnings, expostulations, examples, threatenings and judgments.' Mr. Garrison has shaken this guilty nation from centre to circumference by his denunciations against slavery, principally taken from the Bible. He has used expostulations, warnings, and threatenings taken from the inspired volume, which have cut slaveholders and their allies to the heart, and caused them to 'gnash on him with their teeth,' and offer a price for his head. The demon slavery hath shown great wrath against him, fearing that its time was short. These are some of the trophies of a man who dextrously wields the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. We call for some evidence of anti-slavery triumphs from assailing the divine authority of the Bible. When Mr. Garrison thus attempts, and with triumphant success, to cast out the demon slavery by the means of the Bible, it shows he is not against it; and Christ says, 'He that is not against us is on our part.' No man, who has such an abiding faith in the efficacy of the Bible, as an anti-slavery instrumentality,—who is an abolitionist,—can lightly speak evil of it. Mark 9: 38-40.

We trust we have demonstrated, by the actions (which speak louder than words) of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and by the example of its honored President, that the sweeping charge of infidelity, with very few exceptions, which J. B. has brought against the Society and its helpers, is unfounded. We earnestly hope that no person will be deterred from supporting the Society, lest they shall be obnoxious to the charge of infidelity.

With prayers, as in our last communication, for Mr. Garrison's welfare, we bid him an affectionate adieu.

ELIZABETH WILSON.

P. S. The prayers for Mr. Garrison's welfare, with which we ended our last communication, was by some means transferred to J. B. We are sorry they have been such a source of uneasiness to him, and annoyance to his readers. Perhaps he was afraid that the prayers of a Bible-believer might overtake him. E. W.

THE SCRIPTURES.

LONDON, February, 1853.

DEAR SIR:

I have before me THE LIBERATOR of Jan. 7th, 1853. If there were nothing else to make one pleased at its continued existence, the fact that you allow the opponents as well as the friends of Revelation to be heard would be sufficient. Believers, so called, are often infidels to truth. I am pleased to see the letters of Joseph Barker and Henry C. Wright. Barker's letters will be greatly valuable and serviceable to the cause of truth. They will teach men to think, and take away the false confidence which many believers place in the Scriptures, upon the ground of their inspiration.

The Scriptures, as ancient writings, are of great value to the world; but the notion of inspiration, other than that which may be said to manifest itself in and through all good men, does, in my opinion, great disservice to the cause of truth. It gives a false foundation to those writings, where they are erroneous, and even those who contend that they are inspired writings take upon themselves the liberty of rejecting and correcting them, according to their own notions of fitness.

It is quite clear, if the writings were inspired and written by the finger of God, Christians could have no ground for presuming to set up their judgment to guide them upon the subject; the writings themselves must be the guide, and the reasonings of Christians must be put an end to. To exercise reason upon this supposition is to re-judge the God of justice, and be the God of Gods. They must either abdicate reason, or forego inspiration. No man could consistently believe the writings to be inspired, and then contend that he is entitled to correct them according to his own views; if so, he sets up the rushlight within the individual against what, to him, ought to be the sun.

I think Joseph Barker's letters are admirable. His writings here were extremely useful. He contributed largely to the formation of the popular mind in England, and that at a time when the operative and laboring classes were prevented by our legislators from having a political literature of their own, but which he, notwithstanding their bad laws, largely contributed to supply.

The finite cannot comprehend the infinite. Man only arrives at a knowledge of the attributes of God from his own inferences. The attributes of God are the inferences of man from the works of God.

Be assured of this, it is only weak minds who murmur at the utterance of any thought. The utterance does not make the thought true; it merely evidences that the thought exists, and is to be examined, and received or rejected by those who think it, according to their light, to be true or untrue. The only way to truth is to allow each man to state his conception of it. No man possesses positive truth; all that he has is the inference he himself draws from the aggregate of his knowledge of things. His reasoning powers are given to him; but no comparison can be made without utterance. It is for this God has given speech, and the desire we each feel to influence our kind. To this desire we owe the discovery of the art of printing, and the existence of Christianity itself at the present day.

Go on, therefore, I pray you, publishing the thoughts of other men, even though they happen to be opposed to your own! Consider what you have done for the slave in twenty years, by publishing your thoughts on the slave question, and what the slave-owners have themselves done for the cause of abolition by their utterances against it. What is a speaker without an audience? what is an author without readers? what would you have been without antagonists? where would slavery have been? Remember—which, indeed, is a thing you are never likely to forget—that you are fighting the battle of truth in the actual field of error. You have not to fight it as Wilberforce had to fight it in this country, at a distance from the scene of its existence; but you have to fight it in the tropics, and to bear the heat, and burthen, and violence, and hostility of its interested friends.

I wish some means were adopted by you editors in America, to transmit a few of your papers to a common agent for disposal here, so that when we see, as we constantly do, references made to particular papers, upon subjects in which we are interested, we might send for them. There is the *Boston Investigator*, and a new paper about to be issued by Mrs. DAVIS, on Woman's Rights, which I should like to take, but which I have no means of getting, because I don't know how to remit small sums to the proprietors. I wish our two governments would establish what is here called a money order system, between the two countries; the result would be, that immense sums of money would be transmitted merely by entries in books, and the balance only need be sent. We have a money order system here, by which we get from post office to post office, in different parts of the country, for three pence, an order for the payment of any small sum, at any point or place he may desire. Why should not that be done between Boston and London, New York and London, and so on? except that government, and all its arrangements, are usually much behind the more advanced of the people.

I am glad to see another volume of sermons issued by that noble friend to truth and rational religion, THEODORE PARKER. These I can get here.

EDWARD SEARCH.

William Lloyd Garrison.

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